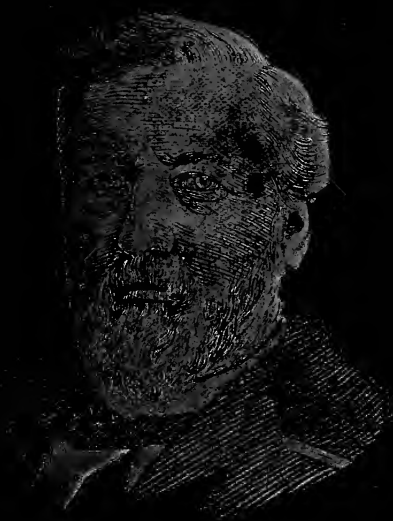


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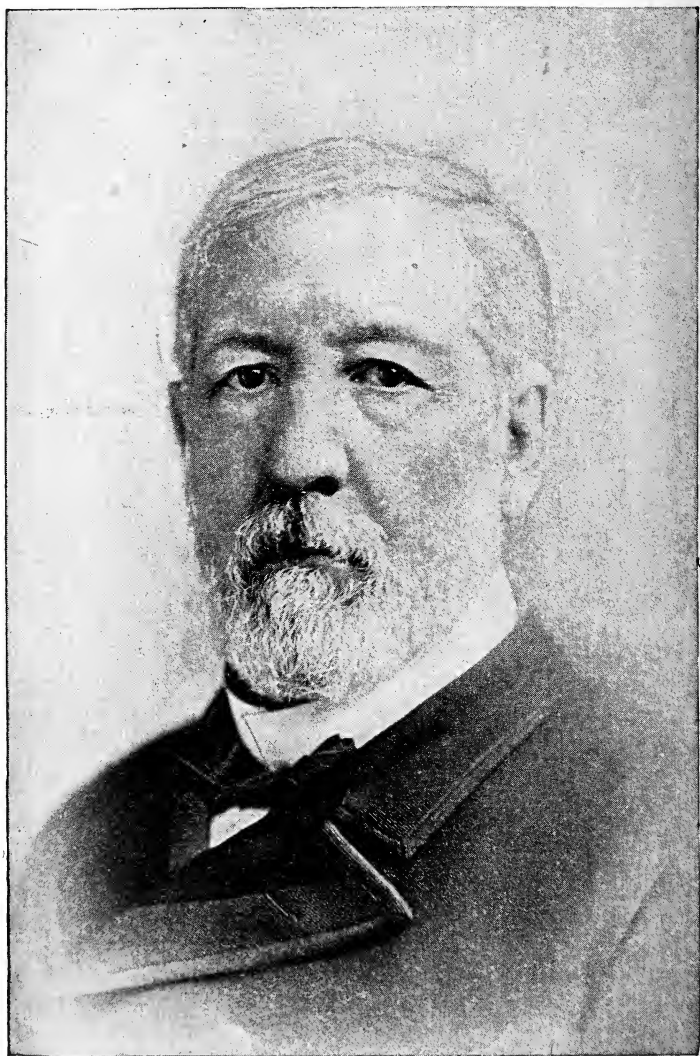
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HON. JAMES G. BLAINE.

L I F E

OF THE

Hon. JAMES G. BLAINE,

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF

His Last Sickness and Death;

ALSO,

COPIOUS EXTRACTS FROM SOME OF HIS MOST IMPORTANT
ADDRESSES, POLITICAL WRITINGS AND STATE PAPERS.

BY

JAMES WILSON PIERCE, D.D., L.L.D.

ILLUSTRATED.

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1893.

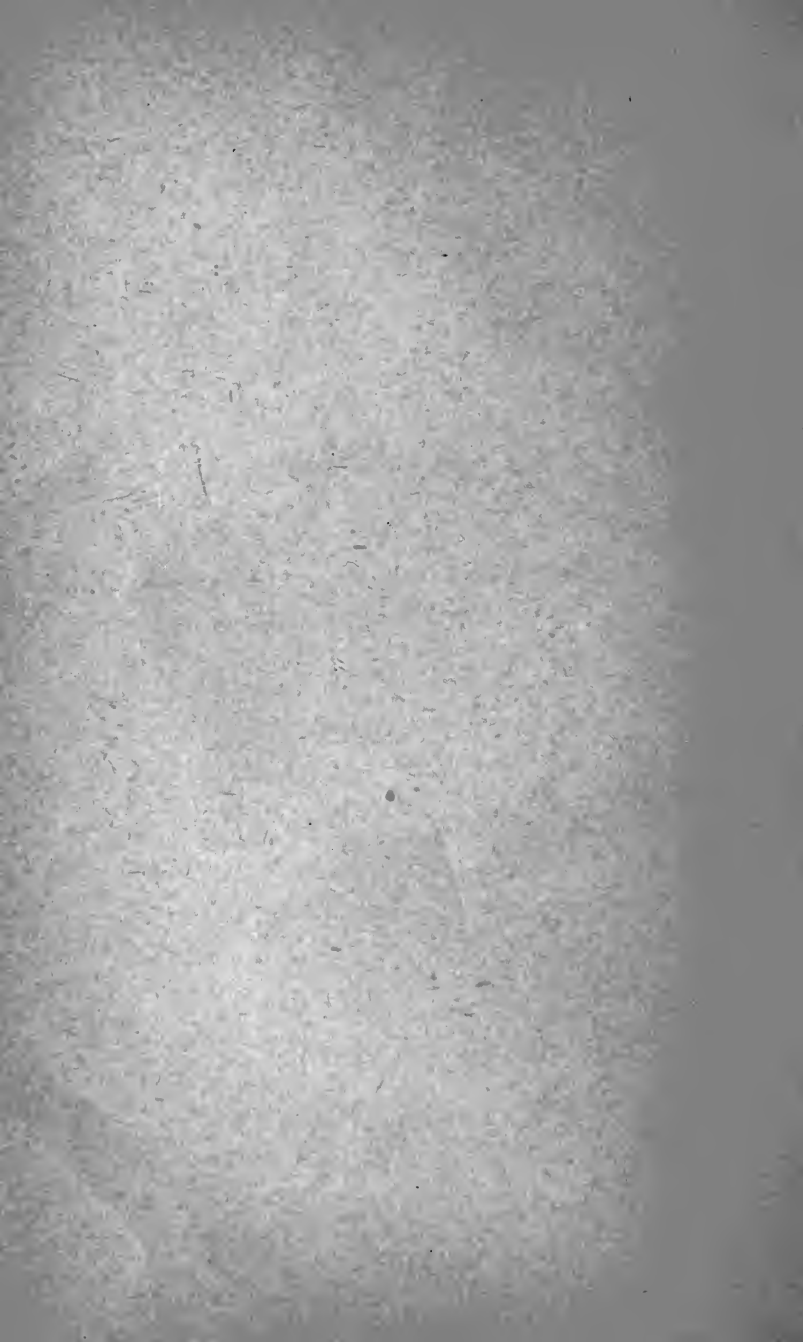
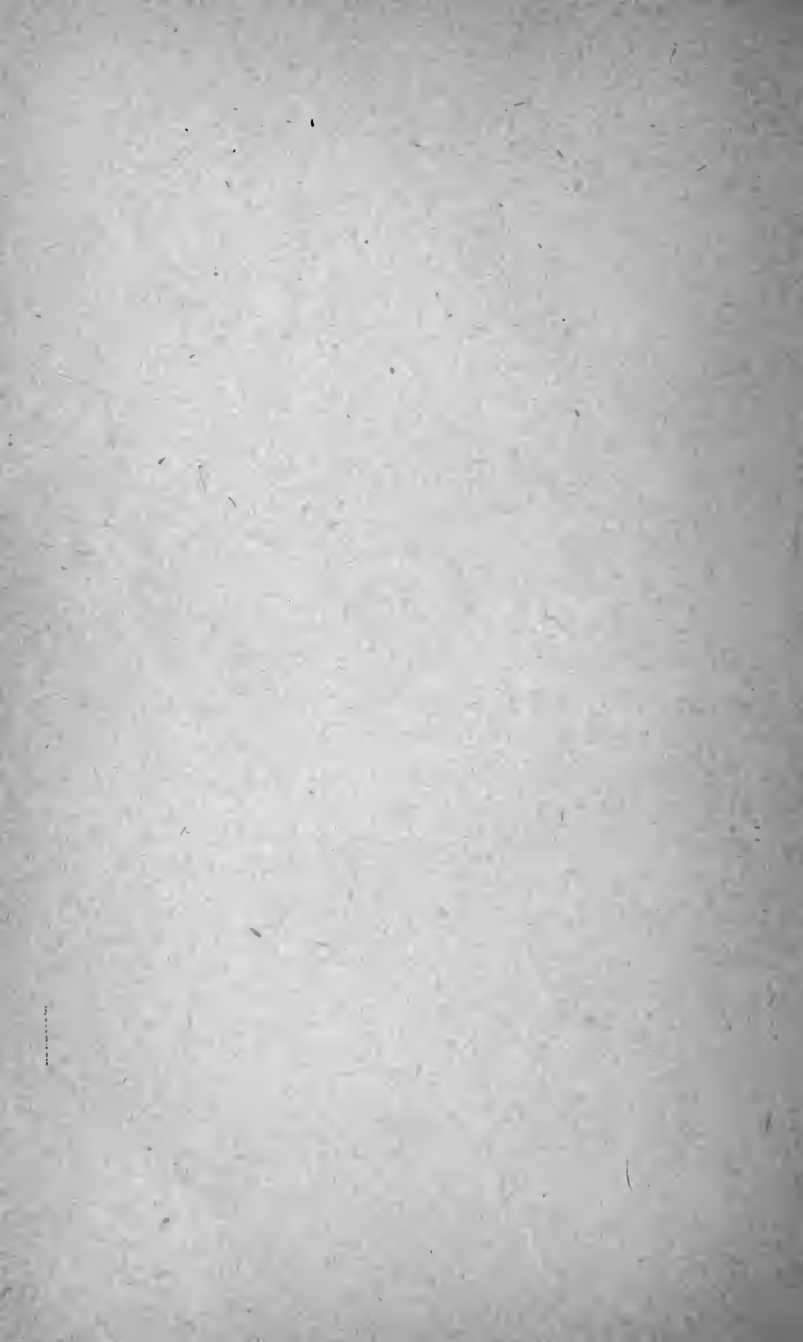


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PREFACE.

The year 1892 was distinguished for the death of men of renown—Dom Pedro, the ex-Emperor of Brazil; Albert Victor, heir-presumptive to the British throne; Cyrus W. Field, projector of the Atlantic Cable; Alfred Tennyson, poet-laureate of England; John Greenleaf Whittier, the distinguished American poet; Rev. Charles H. Spurgeon, the world-renowned preacher; Cardinal Manning, of London; Joseph E. Renau, author; Mrs. Benjamin Harrison, wife of the President of the United States; Emmons Blaine, son of the famous subject of this sketch, and many others.

This year (1893) is yet new. We cannot tell whom, among the great, death may claim before its close nearly twelve months hence. But the king of terrors has begun his work of destruction by striking down one of the foremost men and statesmen in this land, or, indeed, in the world. Death, it is said, loves a shining mark, and in this instance THE FALLEN STATESMAN before him is

a conspicuous example. A prince has fallen in Israel to-day, and friend and foe will vie to do him honor, and to cast an appropriate tribute upon the monument to his memory.

Brilliant and successful as was his career, yet he stopped short of that position which most American statesmen of prominence regard as the goal of their ambition, even the greatest gift within the bestowment of the American people—the presidency of the United States.

This high office seemed more than once within his reach, and he seemed to be not only the choice of the people of his party, but even of the convention that failed to nominate him. But in his failure to reach the exalted position named, he was not alone. Both Clay and Webster were too great for the office they would have adorned, and both failed to reach it.

The American people and the whole world will deeply sympathize with the family upon whom this great affliction has come, and will mourn him as a common loss.

LIFE OF JAMES G. BLAINE.

JAMES GILLESPIE BLAINE was born at Indian Hill Farm, West Brownsville, Pa., January 31, 1830. His ancestors are all that can be desired to make a man truly great. They were of Scotch-Irish descent, and in this country they lost none of the philosophy, the thrift and energy characteristic of the Caledonian; none of the wit and personal magnetism of the best Hibernian types. For generations they were men of wealth, possessed of intellect and culture. Men who, untrammelled by the laws of cast, appreciated their wealth only as a means to bring out the best in them. They were of the class that always has and always will represent thought and progress; the class that has made our civilization what it is, around which it now revolves, and on which rests its hope for the future.

We will pass over the first generations of the family in America, and take up the first historic character of that name, Ephraim Blaine. The

records state that he was a close friend of Washington. This says little, but expresses much; for, familiar with Washington's character as we all are, we know that unless Mr. Blaine was sober and true and loyal and manly in the highest degree, he never would have been so favored. "He was not only a friend of Washington, he was his comrade in arms. He was one of the first to join in the armed contest for independence; he rose to the rank of Colonel in the regular army, and was Commissary-General during the last five years of the war. Nor were his militant services in camp and field, great as they were, the most important that he rendered. He was a man of wealth for those times, and of wide influence, and he placed his own fortune and persuaded many of his friends to place theirs at the disposal of the government at a time when dollars were of more value than bullets. On more than one occasion, when the Continental Treasury was empty, he advanced large sums of money for the purchase of supplies for the troops, thus averting discontent and disaster. Especially during that dreadful winter at Valley Forge were his heroism and self-sacrifice of inestimable value to the cause of independence. Washington himself awarded him the credit of

saving the army from utter starvation. After the war the friendship of Washington and Blaine continued, and the first President, together with Hamilton, Knox and others, was glad to enjoy the hospitalities of the Blaine mansion at Middlesex, near Carlisle."

He died in 1804, and his eldest son, James, became the head of the family. With the hope that he would enter public life, the young man had received the best education the country afforded, and had then been sent abroad to finish. For years he traveled, exploring the treasures, studying the traditions and customs of the Old World; he returned at the close of the Revolution, cultivated and refined to the highest degree, but totally devoid of ambition for political preferment, preferring rather the easy and pleasant life of a country gentleman of the old school. He was not idle, however, large as was his fortune; he paid keen attention to its enlargement, and showed himself a shrewd and successful business man. He had one son, Ephraim Lyon Blaine, the father of the subject of this sketch. His education and training were similar to those of his father; he traveled all over Europe; visited the West Indies and South America. The death of his father recalled him to Pennsyl-

vania in 1818. He did not take up his residence at the old family home at Carlisle, but moved further west, where lay the greater part of his estate, and settled in Beaver county, on the banks of the Ohio. Here he built a stone mansion—the first stone house ever erected west of the Monongahela river—to which he brought his young wife, and which afterwards became the birth-place of the “magnetic statesman.” It is still standing, and now likely to be always preserved as the house in which one of America’s most brilliant men first saw the light.

The wife of Ephraim L. Blaine was Maria Gillespie, a woman of great personal beauty, of remarkable intellect and force of mind and character, and intensely religious, being of Roman Catholic faith. She was a deeply devoted wife and a model mother. In spite of her own religious views, however, the boy James was trained in his father’s church, the Presbyterian, although he has always been known to possess a great leaning towards the church in which his mother lived and died. Read the testimony of one of the “oldest inhabitants” of that neighborhood:

“I married the sister of Ephraim L. Blaine, and he and I went to school together, and I knew him

nearly all his life. He was a leader in mischief in the school, and always a lover of the good things of the world. He was the handsomest man I ever saw, and his wife was a match for him. She was one of the noblest women I ever knew. She inherited all the sterling traits of character and strength of mind for which the Gillespies were noted. Mr. Blaine and Miss Gillespie had been brought up in the most widely different religious beliefs, and, after their marriage, they retained those creeds without clashing or controversy. Each respected the conscientious convictions of the other, and to the end of their lives he was a Presbyterian, she a Catholic. By her consent, indeed by her wish, however, their children were instructed in the Presbyterian faith."

As we have seen Mr. Blaine (E. L. Blaine) was a man of highly-cultivated tastes and education, but he lacked the characteristic thrift of the Scotch, so that impaired fortunes and a growing family compelled him to seek employment in public service.

For a number of years he was justice of the peace at West Brownsville, and was consequently known to his neighbors as "Squire" Blaine. Then, in 1843, he was elected prothonotary of

Washington county. This made it necessary for him to remove to Washington, the county seat, taking, of course, his family with him. There he made his home for the remainder of his life. At his death his remains were interred at West Brownsville, as were also those of his wife; and at the present time there may be seen, in the shadow of the old, time-beaten village church two graves marked with a single stone, bearing the inscription "Ephraim L. Blaine and Maria Gillespie Blaine."

With such ancestry, with such training and surroundings it is not to be wondered at that we find combined in James G. Blaine all the qualities of the truly great; that we see his course has been marked by thrift, sagacity, enterprise, industry, loyalty to state and country, loyalty to kindred and friends; that he possesses intellectual and physical vigor, love of culture and natural leadership.

While we believe thoroughly in heredity, while we believe that the child is father to the man, that all through a man's life the training and the influence of the first ten years weigh for or against, yet, for all that, to Mr. Blaine himself belongs more than half the credit for his distinguished success.

Many men have had equal natural advantages, equal opportunities, but their advantages have been disregarded and their opportunities never embraced.

As stated above, he was born in West Brownsville on January 31, 1830. He was given the name of his grandfather and the family name of his mother. The wealth of anecdotes probably connected with his early life is a sealed book, as his parents left no records, and his own recollections are not clear enough to give anything of interest. He was probably just as other boys are, neither better nor worse, and—as we all know—that is bad enough.

“A single incident of his early years has been put on record, well authenticated. It is worthy of repetition, as indicating the sturdy, self-reliant and aggressive spirit which made him in later years such a forceful leader of men in many a hot campaign. When he was some three or four years old a new well was dug near his father’s house. Attracted by the appearance of the work, he toddled up to the spot and peered over the brink into the excavation. One of the workmen, standing below, looked up and saw him, and, with the view of frightening him away out of possible

danger of falling into the well, made an ugly face at him and some menacing gestures with his shovel. But the child was not frightened. To his courageous little mind it was a case of fighting, not for running away. Stooping down, he seized from the pile of fresh earth that had been thrown out of the well clod after clod, as large as he could lift, and hurled it down at the workman, crying : 'There! Take that, and that, and that!' This vigorous bombardment discomfited the workman, who feared that the little fellow might begin throwing stones instead of clods, and he was presently glad to shout for help at the top of his voice, until the mother was attracted to the scene, and led the pugnacious little fellow away."

It is easy to understand that at that time and in that sparsely-settled section of Western Pennsylvania the schools were not all that could be desired, and consequently young Blaine's education was prosecuted under the immediate direction of his brilliantly-educated father until he was about eleven years old. Then, wishing him to receive a more liberal education than he felt himself capable of imparting, his father sent him to a very select school at Lancaster, Ohio, the head master of which was one William Lyons, a graduate of

England's great university at Oxford, and an uncle of Lord Lyons, the celebrated English diplomat, who was subsequently Great Britain's minister in this country, and later still her ambassador to France, in which latter capacity he became one of the best-known diplomats of modern times. Mr. Lyons was a scholar of fine attainments, and also a cultured and experienced man of the world, and particularly well fitted to prepare boys for college.

During his stay in Lancaster young Blaine lived with his relative, Thomas Ewing, and his daily companions were the latter's three sons, Hugh B., Thomas and Charles Ewing, all of whom afterwards became celebrated men.

Mr. Ewing's home was, moreover, a very important political headquarter, and a place of resort of many of the public men of the time. Young Blaine, therefore, gained there his first practical knowledge of politics and public affairs, and his mind received an impulse in that direction which decided the nature of his activities in future life. He remained at school only about two years, by which time his extraordinary progress in his studies enabled him to pass a matriculation examination to Washington College, in his native county,

from which abode of learning he graduated in 1847, being less than eighteen years old. His masters at college reported that he had been at all times an exceptionally diligent student, naturally unusually gifted, it is true, but always supplementing his inborn talents by hard and unremitting study. He showed the greatest proficiency in all branches of mathematical study, and even more especially in political economy and logic, and it is easy to trace the influence of the latter two studies through his political career.

In general literature he was a diligent and earnest reader, and he soon made himself well acquainted with all the standard works of English literature contained in the college library. Every book and pamphlet relating to American history within his reach he read and re-read until every fact contained in it was indelibly recorded upon his memory. In later years, as we shall see, this study of the story of his own country served him most usefully, both in his own historical writings, and also in his debates in Congress.

A college mate of Mr. Blaine's, who was subsequently a distinguished officer in the Confederate Army, gives some interesting particulars of the college life of the now prominent statesman.

These points, though not wholly agreeing with some here recorded, are given as throwing light on his early days. "At the college," says this biographer, "with two or three hundred students from all sections of the country, Blaine was from his first entrance a leader. Endowed with a splendid physique, he was foremost in all athletic sports. He is not remembered as a hard student among his classmates, as one who burned the midnight oil. It was not necessary for him to do this, as he learned everything quickly and easily, and his standing in his classes was always among the very first. In the annual commencements and the frequent contests of the rival literary societies of the college he was never conspicuous as a debater or wrangler, but he was known and acknowledged as the power that managed and controlled all these things. Goethe has said: 'One builds his talents in the stillness and builds his character in the storms of the world.' "

"To the new boys and young freshmen Blaine was always a hero. To them he was uniformly kind, ever ready to assist and advise them, and to make smooth and pleasant their initiation into college life. His handsome person and neat attire, his ready sympathy and prompt assistance, his

frank, generous nature, and his brave, manly bearing made him the best-known, the best-loved and the most popular boy in college. He was the arbiter among younger boys in all their disputes, and the authority with those of his own age on all questions. He was always for the under-dog in the fight. Like most college boys, he had his sobriquet. Owing to the fact that he was possessed of a somewhat prominent, though shapely, proboscis, he received the appellation of 'Nosey Blaine,' which clung to him through his entire college life. His was one of those noses that would have been the pride and admiration of Napoleon I, and would doubtless have ranked high and gained great glory among the other prominent noses, whose owners were selected by Napoleon to form the shining ranks of his favorite generals, as a prominent nose was considered by him a certain indication of genius and courage. After the usual term at college he graduated with distinguished honor, and carried with him into the world the enduring affection of all those who knew him and with whom he was associated in his alma mater."

Another of his classmates remembers him as having a slight impediment of speech, almost

amounting to stuttering. This proved a detriment to him in declamations and debates. One day young Blaine said to his classmate: "Bill, I would like to be president of our literary society. Can't you work it up for me?" The other expressed surprise, saying: "Why, what do you know about it? You have never taken any part in the debates or other active work of the society, and I don't believe you know anything about parliamentary law." "No," said Blaine, "but that doesn't matter. I can commit Cushing's Manual to memory in one evening." This was no idle boast. Blaine did commit every rule in the manual to memory in one evening so thoroughly as to be complete master of parliamentary practice. At the next election he was chosen president of the society, and was the best presiding-officer it ever had.

"During his college life Blaine lived at home in his father's family. One morning he was sent to market to buy a turkey. It was early in the morning before breakfast. When his father came to the breakfast table the colored cook greeted him with: 'Massa Blaine, dat dar turkey what Massa Jim buyed dis morning am de queerest turkey I's ever see.' 'Why, what's the matter with it?'

asked Mr. Blaine. 'Isn't it big enough? It surely ought to be, for Jim paid a dollar for it.' 'Oh, yes, Massa Blaine, it am big enough, but it am de funniest turkey dis nigger ever see.' Mr. Blaine thereupon went to the kitchen to see the fowl, and found it to be a rather venerable goose. He forthwith called James in, and told him he ought to be ashamed of himself for being thus imposed upon. 'Fifteen years old, Jim, and can't tell a turkey from a goose!' 'Well,' replied the boy, 'I'd like to know how you expect me to tell a turkey from a goose when its feathers are off.' "

As we stated before, Mr. Blaine graduated when a little over seventeen years of age. His class numbered thirty-three. In speaking of his college days, Mr. Blaine says that he was obliged to study hard, and that he was very quiet and an industrious student. His class was composed of young men who were determined to succeed, and the emulation was great, though friendly. The students did not strive to see how little they could do, but their determination was to excel in everything. So Mr. Blaine's college days were not holidays, as has been said. He was one of the three who took honors. He was selected to deliver the English salutatory, and also an oration. The

subject of the latter was: "The Duty of An Educated American." The oration of nearly forty years ago, reviewed in the light of to-day, is rather remarkable for a boy of seventeen. It is to be regretted that the consent of the distinguished orator cannot be obtained to the publication of the whole address. The prediction in regard to that magnificent continent in itself was prophetic, and is here given:

"The sphere of labor for the educated American is continually enlarging. But recently we added the vast domain of the Lone Star Republic to our glorious union. The war to which that act gave rise is now in victorious progress, and will not end without another great accession of territory—possibly carrying our flag beyond the Great American Desert to the shores of the Pacific sea. Where our armies march population follows, and the field of duty for the scholar is to be continental in extent, and as varied as the demands of a progressive civilization."

We have only to bear in mind the fact that this address was delivered in September, 1847, the very year that gold was discovered in California.

Those then members of the faculty of Washington College are all dead, but nearly all of Mr.

Blaine's school-fellows are still alive. At the quarter centennial of the class, held in 1872, twenty-nine of the thirty-three were living, and every one of them was a man of position and character in his community. While Mr. Blaine was in the House of Representatives there were two of his classmates also members—J. V. Le Moyne, of Illinois, and William S. Moore, of Pennsylvania, who represented the old Washington county district. At the same time James H. Hopkins, of Pittsburg, Pa., and George W. Morgan, of Ohio, both Washington College students, were also members of the House.

From this point in life Mr. Blaine began to carve out his own future. He neither delayed nor hesitated, but struck out at once to seek his fortune. We will allow our readers to judge for themselves how he has succeeded.

TEACHING SCHOOL IN KENTUCKY.

When James G. Blaine left Washington College he became first, a schoolteacher. It was necessary for him to enter some profitable employment at once. His father's fortune had been steadily declining, and the young man now found himself practically set adrift in the world, with no money

or other financial resources and only a sound mind in a sound body and a well-developed character with which to make his way.

“Only a few weeks elapsed between the ending of his life as a student and the beginning of his life as a teacher. He was graduated in the latter part of September. ‘In October,’ he says, ‘I went to Kentucky.’ Why he went hither is unknown. It may have been merely for the reason that Kentucky was a younger commonwealth than Pennsylvania, and that therefore there seemed to him better opportunities of making his way there. Certainly he found social conditions very different from those of his old home. He went from a free State into a slave State; from a quiet, peaceable community into one where a more restless, aggressive and and at times turbulent, spirit prevailed. This very fact was of great advantage to him, for it cultivated and developed his spirit of authority and his gift of leadership. He was brought into contact with people of aristocratic impulses, having an utter disdain of all restriction. For him to establish and maintain authority among them, and over them would be no mean task. If he would succeed in it, he would have proven his right to be reckoned as a leader of men wherever he might go.”

The institution in which he became a teacher or professor, as he was called, was a military school at Blue Lick Springs, Ky. In this school there were nearly five hundred boys. Most of these were the sons of wealthy slaveholders and planters. To control boys under any circumstances is no easy matter, but for a young man, and a Northern man at that, of eighteen, to hold authority over five hundred boys, many of whom were his equal in age, all imbued with the characteristic spirit of the Southern aristocracy, was a task for a giant. Here is where he learned to control and harmonize the antagonistic interests and passions always to be found in every body of men. He did not allow his authority to be questioned for a moment. His commands must be obeyed with military promptness and precision. At the same time he entered as fully as possible into sympathy with the boys. A gentleman now living in Washington (who was also an officer in the Confederate service) was a student in the school. He well remembers Blaine and describes him as a thin, handsome, earnest young man, with the same fascinating manners he has now. He was very popular with the boys, who trusted him and made friends with him from the first. In a very short time he knew not only the face and full name

of each man, but also something about his family and was able to sympathize with his tastes and feelings and to enter heartily into his ambitions and to this day he asks about this boy and that who went to school at Blue Lick Springs; no wonder he made all the students feel that he was not only their teacher and master, but their friend and companion as well.

The young teacher staid at Blue Lick Springs for three years. During this time he had learned many things, among them that perhaps he had abilities that would carry him higher in other walks of life. The petty details and routine work were uncongenial to a man of his high spirit and broad views. Again, while he could sympathize with the individuals, yet he was out of tune, so to speak, with his surroundings. He was a Northern man with Northern views, and the social system in which he lived became more and more distasteful each day. He avoided an open conflict, but it finally became almost impossible to conceal his dislike. These feelings, with other feelings concerning which we are about to speak, influencing him, he determined to return to his native State.

MARRIAGE AND RETURN NORTH.

A short time before he had made the acquaintance of Miss Harriet Stanwood, of Maine, who had been sent to the seminary at Millersburg, Ky., for an education, and the acquaintance resulted in marriage. There can be no doubt that his wife has always been a great helper to him. It is true that she has not of that peculiar magnetism which characterized her gifted husband, nor did she possess the quality of making and retaining friends. Indeed, her frigidity of manner has always been much criticised; but she did possess other and more lasting qualities, and as an earnest and encouraging life-companion her influence upon her husband's career is undeniable.

The three years spent by Mr. Blaine in Kentucky influenced him all through his life in his attitude towards the South and her social system. He had grown up indifferent concerning the question of human slavery. He had known nothing of it save by hearsay, and there is no indication that his family or friends impressed upon him aggressive anti-slavery opinions. His father was probably anti-slavery, but he only took a passive interest in it. Pennsylvania was a free State, but it was so

close to slavery, and the social and business relations were so intimate, that indifference, if not sympathy, everywhere existed.

“As we said above, when Mr. Blaine went to Kentucky, the question was one of passive rather than active hostility; but, before he left, he was possessed of an ardent and unquestionable hatred of slavery, and a fixed purpose both to oppose its further extension, and to labor for its total abolition. A thing occurred after he settled in Maine, and was editing a paper there, that clearly sets forth his views. In his writings he was outspoken in the cause of freedom. A rival sheet took him to task for this on the ground that, having lived in the South and enjoyed its hospitality, he should not speak against its institutions. To this funny rebuke the young editor replied:”

“We find the following precious morceau in *The Age* of Saturday last:

“ ‘One of the editors of the new Morrill organ in this city has too recently partaken of the “slaveholders’ salt,” and reposed beneath the shadow of the “peculiar institution” to authorize him to lecture contemporaries on their duty to the cause of “freedom.” We would recommend Shakespeare’s advice to new beginners in the art theatrical.’

“We—the editor referred to in this would-be severe paragraph—have to plead guilty to a residence of four years prior to and including 1850 in the State of Kentucky. We were engaged in what we still consider the honorable capacity of a teacher in a literary institution, then and now in deservedly high standing with the several States, both North and South, which patronize and sustain it. Invited to take the position for certain pecuniary consideration, which we regularly received, and having to the best of our ability and to the satisfaction of all concerned discharged our duties, we have been under the impression that the matter was closed and nothing due from either party to the other in the way of personal obligation or political fealty. *The Age*, however, seems to think that having partaken of the ‘slaveholders’ salt’ (for which we paid) we should be dumb to the slaveholders’ wrong-doing. So conscious are they of the potency of a little ‘administration salt’ in shutting their own mouths, and stifling their real sentiments on the slavery question, that they cannot conceive of anyone taking a more independent or a more manly course.

“We beg leave to further say (since we are forced reluctantly into this illusion of self) that the



UNITED STATES CAPITOL.

anti-slavery sentiments which, from our earliest youth, we imbibed in our native Pennsylvania—the first of the ‘old thirteen’ to abolish slavery—were deepened and strengthened by a residence among slaveholders, and that nowhere, either on slave soil or on free soil, have we expressed other feelings than those of decided hostility to the extension of the withering curse.

“Our residence in the South gave us, we hope, the advantage of a thorough comprehension of the question of slavery in all of its aspects, and of the views of the men who sustain it. It taught us, among other things, that slaveholders, whilst wholly unreasonable and even perfidious in their aggressions upon freedom, have yet the magnanimity to despise a Northern traitor; and that all organists and apologists of dough-facery, after earning the contempt of freedom at home, have only for consolation the kicks and cuffs of their Southern masters.

“But we forbear; the opinion now current is that our neighbors of *The Age*, in consenting to preach acquiescence under the ‘crushing-out’ process of Pierce and Cushing, went in dirt cheap and have even failed to receive the whole of the stipulated compensation. Under this belief the derision

which they so richly merited, and at first so bountifully received, is rapidly subsiding and giving place to a feeling of pity; in this, we trust, we have the generosity to share, and cannot, therefore, find it in our heart to add a single taunt or unkind remark."

STUDYING LAW.

When Mr. Blaine started North in the spring of 1851 his intention was to study and to engage in the practice of the law. For a time he read law in his father's office at his old home in Washington county, but shortly removed to Philadelphia to complete his law course under the guidance of Theodore Cuyler. To maintain himself and family while he was finishing his law studies he obtained a position as teacher in the boys' department of the Pennsylvania Institution for the instruction of the blind. When he applied for the position there were thirty or forty applicants at the same time, and he had no letters of introduction and no influential friends to aid him. His appearance and manner, however, so favorably impressed the authorities that he was immediately engaged to be principal teacher of the boys' department. He brought his young wife and their infant son,

Walker, thither, and for two years they made their home in Philadelphia.

TEACHING THE BLIND.

“Mr. Chapin, the principal who accepted Mr. Blaine’s application and who was associated with him during his two years of service, says that while a large number of persons answered his advertisement for a teacher, he had no hesitation whatever in selecting Mr. Blaine, so favorably was he impressed by his manly presence and intellectual features. He was not disappointed in his choice. Mr. Blaine had to teach his pupils chiefly by the oral method, and for this difficult work his brilliant mental powers were exactly suited. He was a good talker; he was fluent, and his choice of words was admirable. His memory of facts and figures and persons was extraordinary. He was young and impulsive, and was apt to jump at conclusions, but his conclusions were usually correct, and he was always ready to defend them by argument.”

One of those who were pupils under Mr. Blaine says that they all had a sincere and hearty affection for him and for his wife. “They were both always ready to do anything for our instruction or entertainment, and they thus employed a great deal of their

leisure time, upon which we had really no claim. Mrs. Blaine used to read Dickens to us, and Mr. Blaine often read from a most amusing work entitled 'Charcoal Sketches.' Now and then we would have a spelling bee. Usually Mr. Blaine gave out the words that were to be spelled. But sometimes he would let one of the older boys do that, and would himself take a place among the pupils. Then we would have great fun in trying to spell him down."

The especial branches entrusted to his care were mathematics and the higher educational courses, but he made himself useful in many ways. Indeed, of his own accord, he wrote and compiled in manuscript a quarto volume of 284 pages, treating in the most complete and exhaustive fashion of the history, progress and other business of the institution up to the day on which he left, which interesting volume is still preserved in the most valuable archives of the institution, and showed to visitors with the greatest pride.

Here Mr. Blaine's work as a pedagogue ended; and although it might have been reasonably expected that a man of his already acknowledged ability would have been likely to "follow the course of empire and go West," he thought otherwise,

and following the long expressed desire and wishes

GOES TO AUGUSTA.

of his wife, he removed to her native State of Maine and settled in Augusta, where he has resided ever since. Immediately upon his arrival in the capital of the "Lumber State" he purchased a half interest in the *Kennebec Journal*, and, as its editor, made his influence in State politics felt very speedily. Indeed, his quick access to power as a journalist was so remarkable that, concerning this portion of his career, one of the governors of the State of Maine has said: "Almost from the day of his assuming charge of the *Kennebec Journal*, at the early age of 23 years, Mr. Blaine came to a position of great influence in the politics and policy of Maine." And it will be remembered that he has always been called "The Man of Maine" in much the same spirit in which Grand Louis said: "*La France, c'est moi!*" Nothing could be more characteristic of the man than the manner in which he prepared himself for the new field of labor into which he had entered so unexpectedly. He took

THE EDITOR.

all the bound volumes of the "*Journal*" for the

previous years and devoted himself to the most close and assiduous study of their contents. This paper had been the organ, first of the Whigs and afterwards of the Republicans, and he never rested in this dry reading and study until he had completely mastered, not only the former tone and position of the paper itself, but also all the detail and minutiae of politics and public affairs in every county of the State, as far as they had been recorded in the pages of the *Journal*. At that time, and for many years afterwards, it used to be a source of never-ending wonder and astonishment to politicians and public men to hear with what unfailing accuracy the new-comer from a distant State could quote from the files of the paper with regard to all political matters. Mr. Blaine's extraordinarily keen comprehension and prodigious memory have always been among his most remarkable natural attributes, but they have never been put to such a test as when he accomplished the *tour de force* just recorded.

During the four years that Mr. Blaine spent in this active and exciting conduct of a leading political journal, he still found time, with his habits of rapid work, for keeping up his studies of history and general literature, studies which his

powers of mind made very fruitful. He has a command of both these subjects, fresh and unobscured in his mind and ready to be put into instant use, which makes him remarkable among his compeers in political life.

Mr. Blaine's partner in the *Journal* was his wife's brother, Jacob Stanwood, of Augusta. The new firm made its bow to the public on November 10, 1854, and delivered itself of the following editorial:

“Politically the *Journal* will pursue the same course it has marked out for the last two months. We shall cordially support the Morrill or Republican party, the substantial principles of which are, as we understand them: freedom, temperance, river and harbor improvements within Constitutional limits, homesteads for freemen and a just administration of the public lands of the State and nation. We shall advocate the cause of popular education as the surest safe-guard of our Republican institutions, and especially the common schools of the State and city. * * * We shall devote a department of our paper each week to religious intelligence of all kinds, and desire that our friends of all denominations will consider themselves invited freely to communicate anything in this department which they wish to have made

public, particularly notices of religious conventions, ordinations and meetings of such kind."

"This editorial was doubtless from the pen of Mr. Blaine, who became the principal leader-writer of the *Journal*. His articles were, in matter and in style, entirely characteristic. They were marked by the utmost clearness and directness of statement, by cogent and convincing logic, and by great earnestness and courage. He never shrank from controversy on matters of political principle, and he almost never failed to cover his antagonists with confusion. He never waited to see what the drift of public sentiment would be before committing the paper to a certain policy, but unhesitatingly spoke out for the course which he deemed right, regardless of fear or favor, and while his ability to array facts and figures and arguments was extraordinary, he had also the happy gift of inspiring his readers with that intense earnestness and enthusiasm that dominated his own nature."

We might give article after article from the pen of Mr. Blaine of the greatest interest, but space limits us to a few quotations. Here is one introducing Hon. Cassius M. Clay to the Northern public. Mr. Clay had come to New England to lecture on the question of slavery and the relation

of the Federal government to that institution. Mr. Blaine wrote of him as follows:

“Mr. Clay stands in the front rank of the opponents of slavery, and has taken that position, not with the applause of friends and cheers of approbation from the crowd, but with the loss of good name at home and the sundering of many personal ties, and even more, with imminent peril to life and limb. He bears it all unquailed though, for he is a man of true moral heroism and undaunted personal bravery. When he first assumed his anti-slavery position in Kentucky, they tried to bribe him with office and place. The Whigs offered him the lieutenant-governorship and then a seat in Congress as representative, with the reversion of John J. Crittenden’s senatorial chair. But he scorned their offers, for he was earnest and conscientious in his opposition to slavery. They next tried force and mobbed his printing office and carried off his press to Cincinnati, like brave men, while Clay was confined to his room with a serious illness, and when all these demonstrations were ineffectual, they resorted to personal violence and hired assassins to seek his blood. But all in vain. He has conquered even Kentucky and is stronger this day than at any other time of his life.

“As a speaker, Mr. Clay is very earnest and persuasive, not polished either in manner or diction, but still irresistibly pleasing. He speaks from the soul, and the moment you hear him you are assured that he gives utterance only to what he knows and feels to be the truth and the cause of freedom.

“Mr. Clay is a man of fine personnel, in the early prime of life—being only a few years on the shady side of forty, and but for his full suit of gray, readily passing for ten years younger. He resembles ex-Vice-President Dallas, who always ranked as the finest looking man on Pennsylvania avenue.”

A few days later, aroused by an Act of the Legislature of Indiana, then a pro-slavery State, he writes:

“It is not to be wondered at that a Legislature which would send John Pettit to the United States Senate would perform any other mean act which a dishonest cupidity might instigate or suggest. Accordingly it was reserved for that same honorable body to enact a law in regard to the colored citizens of their State most oppressive in its daily operations and most disgraceful from the motives and reasons which induced its passage. Let us give a brief history of it.

“Railroad connection between Louisville, Ky.,

and Cincinnati has long been a desideratum, and would years since have been accomplished but for a jealousy which existed on the part of both cities as to which side of the Ohio river the road should be built on. For commercial reasons, each city and section desired it should be on their side, while the Kentuckians had an additional objection to its going on the northern side of the river in the fact that a facility would be thereby afforded for the escape of their slaves. They demanded some security against this terrible danger, and the Indiana Legislature—quick ‘to crook the pregnant hinges of the knee that thrift might follow fanning’—immediately responded to the desire of their Kentucky neighbors by annexing a condition to the charter of the railroad company that no colored person should be admitted as a passenger in their cars unless he produce evidence of his freedom.

“The following account of a recent case under the law, clipped from an exchange, will briefly explain its operation and the odious construction by which it is sustained:

“ ‘A colored man in Indiana lately brought suit before a magistrate against the Jeffersonville Railroad Company because they refused to admit him to the cars as a passenger until he produced evi-

dence of his freedom. The justice awarded him twenty dollars damages, but the company appealed to the Circuit Court of Clarke County, and a few days ago the decision was reversed. The court (which is a free State tribunal) held, although the legal presumption is that all persons are free, yet the fact being that some colored persons are not free, it is reasonable that the matter should be settled in each case at the time the colored person applies for his seat.'

"Could any argument, pretending to the dignity of a ground for legal decision, be more shallow or more disgraceful? Admitting, as a judge does, that freedom must be the presumed state of every man, he offsets all advantages arising from that presumption by adding that, as some colored persons are not free, it is reasonable that the matter should be settled in each case. What is the presumption worth if it must be sustained every time by positive evidence?

"Such legislation is in strong contrast with the course pursued by the Ohio Legislature in 1847, when the subject of granting to a company the right to construct a bridge across the Ohio river at Cincinnati, came before them. The Kentucky Legislature, from whom the right had been obtained,

so far as they could grant it, had cumbered the charter with such restrictions in regard to colored people as made the Cincinnati Company and all their agents regular slave-catchers. But one honorable course was left to the Ohio Legislature, and they followed it manfully. They refused the charter and reprobated in strong terms expressed in special resolution, an act that would so far compromise the honor and dignity of a great free State. Would that their example had made a deeper impression on their neighbors of Indiana. But we confess that we expect little from that free State which will keep in the Senate of the United States a notorious slaveholder, Jesse D. Bright, and a still more notorious blackguard, John Pettit. We are really afraid that their reputation of the Nebraska treachery was only a spasmodic effort, to be followed by a lethargic supineness more fatal than actual wrong-doing."

Again, on "The Permanency of Republican Party":

"The whole history of parties and opinions in the United States conclusively demonstrates that they are of slow growth, and the result of much toilsome effort and patient seed-growing. From the adoption of the American Constitution in 1789, to 1801, the same class of political persons was

predominant in the government, and Washington and the elder Adams were their exponents. Then there was a revolution, and the Jeffersonian class was inaugurated, and continued more than twenty-five years, till the opposition completely died out. Then, in 1829, the dynasty of Andrew Jackson commenced, and, with only slight deviations, has continued for about twenty-five years to the present time, till nearly every principle which was originated under his administration has become the settled and permanent judgment of the country, and been incorporated into his history and practice. Time and experience have demonstrated their wisdom, or the elastic spirit of the American people has closed over their scars, and all opposition to them has gradually died out, and they have ceased to be issues of the present day. In the meantime, and extending back about twenty years, new issues have sprung up. Certain minds in the free States began to feel the overwhelming influence of slavery in the government, and to behold the disproportionate power it wielded in the election and appointment of the highest officers in the gift of the people, and were alarmed at it. They began to raise their voices of remonstrance against it through the press, the pulpit and forum. It was but a small

beginning, but the men who conceived the anti-slavery enterprise were not to be daunted by the vastness of the evil they had attacked or the sneers and opprobrium that were heaped upon them, but with firm hearts and unquailing they toiled on, in the morning sowing the seed and at evening withholding not their hands. At first they used only the power of argument and facts, but by and by the time came to carry this question to the ballot-box and to wield its omnipotence to advance the cause. This was in 1840. And, thence taking new impulse, the movement went on, growing little by little by small accretions, as the coral builds its mighty reefs, till the anti-slavery sentiment had permeated and filled every vein and artery, and incorporated itself into the whole moral constitution of the free State. While the process was advancing on the one hand, the slave-power, as if to illustrate the principle of the ancients—‘whom the gods wish to destroy they first made mad’—became, on the other hand, more and more desperate in its demand, and by the aid of Northern subserviency, pushed its schemes of subjugation from conquest to conquest over the rights and equalities of the North, till at last they culminated in the Nebraska act, that measure of stupendous

wrong and perfidy. Then it was that all the anti-slavery seeds which twenty years of toil, sacrifice and patience had disseminated through the public mind burst out into an irrepressible flame. The people had restrained these sentiments for a long time, in hopes that the evil would cease without violent remedies. They had endured the compromise of 1850, bitter as it was; the infamous Fugitive Slave Act, and all. But at last endurance had ceased to be a virtue, and they could endure no longer. They could no longer smother the flame of liberty that was burning in their breasts, and that, as *The Mercury* says, 'arises from the deepest-rooted feelings and principles' of their natures, and can never go back any more than the water of Niagara that has once plunged over the precipice can go back. It must live in the hearts it now animates. Its growth has been long—twenty long years. Its decay will be equally slow. The great Republican party that has suddenly developed itself on the political theatre embodying the anti-slavery sentiment of the country as its leading characteristic, when considered in its natural elements, in its history and progress, or in the light of experience, has every appearance of permanency and progress."

“It does not, as *The Mercury* intimates, foreshadow the dissolution of the Union, but its salvation. The slave States will never dissolve the Union. They have too great stake in its preservation, for the arm of the Federal government is absolutely necessary to keep them from insurrection and massacre by the millions of slaves now groaning under the accursed lash. But dissolution, if it ever come, must come from the free States, stripped of their rights and degraded in the government, as they have been for the last twenty years, and goaded on to desperation by a continuance and perpetual repetition of these aggressions. The Union will be saved by arresting the gigantic strides of the slave power towards political supremacy, driving it back into its legitimate sphere and restoring to the North its just and equal rights. But that the other alternative, mentioned by *The Mercury*, may not in the end result from the permanent dominion of the Republican party we are not prepared to deny; on the contrary, it is the hope of many an earnest heart, that beats the warmest in this glorious movement, that God in his wise Providence will make it the instrumentality of the final extinction of slavery in this Republic. In this hope will live and labor, and will labor while we live, believing that a country

redeemed from the curse and shame of slavery, purified and restored to the Republicanism of its palmy days, will be the richest legacy we can leave to posterity. Drive rum as a beverage from all avenues of society; place the tide of foreign immigration that is pouring in upon us with such fearful power under proper restrictions and in a course of education that shall prepare it, as the American citizen is now prepared, for the high functions of freedom; strike the fetters from the limb of every slave that breathes in all the vast domain, so that, from centre to circumference, only the glad shout of liberty shall be heard and the smile of Providence will bless this land as it never has been blessed, and the tide of national prosperity and true glory shall roll on from generation to generation while time shall last."

A few weeks later he wrote again :

"It can no longer be questioned that we have in Maine a well organized and powerful party, which shares the sympathies and influence of a decided majority of the people. That radical and permanent causes have been operating for years to bring about the present condition of things, is so well known as to need no repetition. Ignored and resisted, as those causes were, by selfish schemers,

personal aims, and the force of old party watch-words, they increased yearly in breadth and strength, until they have become one resistless current of public opinion, fed by the various springs of moral and patriotic feelings, which are so fresh and healthful in the social soil of Maine, on which the ship of State is fairly launched, with the flags of Temperance, Freedom and American enterprise waving proudly at the mast-head. The Republican party, therefore, is not the creation of a few individuals, or the result of tactics; it is the production of moral ideas which have vegetated in consciences and hearts of the people. It is pre-eminently the child of ideas and of the people. Strong as these ideas and their friends had shown themselves in the efforts of the two or three years past, old political organizations had prevented the union of men of like principles in one well organized party. The men were called by different names, yet they had a common faith and common purposes. Their principles needed expression in a common platform. The people desired one political family and one organization. Right, expediency and necessity called for a convention. What time more opportune and appropriate than the birthday of Washington? So ready were the people for

action, so manifest the necessity, that a long notice was not required.

“The convention of the twenty-second was one of the most remarkable and interesting that ever assembled in our State. The numbers in attendance were very large—not less than nine or ten hundred. It was composed of the true and influential portion of the people from all parts of the State. Its members came in due proportion from all the former political parties, in names of long-established reputation and worth, known in the State and out of it; in men possessing the confidence and representing the convictions of their respective vicinities, no political assemblage ever held in the State surpassed the one of last week. No body of men could be more united in opinion and resolution. The enthusiasm manifested was not a sudden transitory feeling, but was the result of a calm, yet intense conviction that a new era had arrived in the politics of the State and the Nation; that high and solemn duties are now devolving on our citizens. The resolutions and the speeches indicated the spirit and purpose of the Republican party. The remarks of Edward Kent, the president of the convention, on taking the chair, were able, well timed and square up to the faith and de-

termination of a large majority of the people of the State at the present time. As to the candidate for nomination there was but one opinion. There is one man who, by his past course, his principles and his devotion to them, his courage and iron-willed resolution at the right time, has so endeared himself to a majority of the people that the Republicans demanded his nomination with an enthusiasm which could not well be surpassed. Rightfully, by popular will, is Anson P. Morrill to be candidate of the Republicans next September. Even against his strongest personal wishes, the friends of Temperance, Freedom and truly American ideas would demand that he should be their standard-bearer. As to the principles of the platform, expressed by the resolutions, we trust they will meet the warmest approval of all true Republicans. They are plainly in consonance with our position as the people of a free State, with our constitutional rights and our relations to the Union. They recognize the laws of God, Liberty and Humanity as above, yet not in conflict, but in harmony with the laws of the State and all allowable laws of the Nation. They demand that the people, and not the hundred and fifty-thousand nobles, shall control the Government of the country. They de-

mand that the freedom, intelligence, moral interests, enterprise, labor and property of twenty millions of citizens shall be the controlling force of the Government, instead of an audacious, haughty and demoralized class who constitute less than one-sixtieth of the Nation. The doctrines of the resolutions may strongly resemble the Whig doctrines of the American resolution. They may be like the Democratic ideas of Thomas Jefferson. They express the principles and the settled determination of the Republicans of Maine, and, as we believe, of that great and truly national party which is so rapidly gathering numbers, strength, and prestige, which is to march into power in 1856, and bring the Government back to the purity and the ideas of its founders, and thus demonstrate to the world that the American people have not forgotten their history, are not blind to what should be the solution of the problem of American destiny."

Presently he felt the desire to work in a still broader field, so he relinquished the *Journal* and

IN PORTLAND.

became the editor of the *Portland Advertiser*, then as now, one of the most important newspapers in

the State. The influence of his own family relations was very considerable, and such party leaders as the Morrills, Fessenden and Hamlin were his associates and friends—all of which, added to his great natural ability, accounts in a measure for his rapid career. Shortly after assuming the editorial duties of the *Portland Advertiser*, he began to feel the desire to write something of a more lasting nature than the ephemeral productions of journalism, and he made his first attempt in the historical volume called the *Life of the Hon. Luther Severance*, who was the distinguished gentleman who had established the *Kennebec Journal* some thirty years before. It must not be imagined that the rising young politician's efforts were exclusively confined to State politics, for this was far from the case. In the formation of national Republican politics he also became influential at an unusually early age. He was a delegate to the first convention in 1856, which nominated Gen. John C. Fremont for the presidency; indeed, he took an exceptionally active part in the deliberations of this convention, being one of its secretaries.

HIS FIRST SPEECH.

“On his return to Augusta, at a mass-meeting

held to ratify the choice, some of the old citizens contrived to get him upon the stand and put him forward simply to tell the story of the convention, in response to a general request. The congenial task soon warmed him to the work; he found confidence and words together, and the maiden speech of his public career was a pronounced success. From this time on there was no thought of confining his labors to the sanctum or the council chamber. He made speeches in nearly every part of the State, and was heartily greeted as a solid and convincing 'stump' orator, acquitting himself in this undertaking, as in all the others that had fallen to his lot, in a manner easily the first among all competitors. His aid was eagerly enlisted in subsequent campaigns, but it may be remarked that this never led him to make his oratory a matter of price. His efforts were given freely and spontaneously for the good of the cause, and he would not accept pay or allow charge to be made for hearing him."

His first public office came to him in a somewhat unusual manner. He desired to make his newspaper as lively and public-spirited as possible, and by way of attaining this end he never hesitated to criticise all unworthy methods to either State or city

government. With regard to the penal and reformatory institutions in Maine, he took especial pains to expose their condition of lax and inefficient management, and it seems that things were really in a very bad way with regard to all the State's public institutions at that time. His stinging articles aroused a great deal of excitement throughout the State and the Governor, Lot M. Morrill, was clever enough to at once throw the whole responsibility upon the youthful editor by appointing him as a commissioner to inspect and examine the prisons and reformatories of the State (and other States) and suggest desirable alterations and improvements. Mr. Blaine accepted the trust unhesitatingly and from that moment he began to prosecute the study of criminality and the best methods of dealing with

A MEMBER OF THE MAINE LEGIS- LATURE.

it, with that same thoroughness which had heretofore characterized all his public and private occupations and movements. He traveled through some fifteen States of the Union, making the closest observations of the various methods of dealing with the vicious and criminal classes, this journey resulting in an elaborate and voluminous report

which embraced many suggestions and recommendations, most of which were subsequently adopted and strictly enforced. The immediate result was that institutions of this class in the State of Maine were at once put upon a paying basis and so they have remained ever since.

The days of his life in the sanctum were, however, numbered. The people of Augusta were too strongly attached to him to allow him to remain long at Portland. If they could not have him among them as an editor, they would have him as a legislator. Accordingly, in September, 1858, they elected him as their representative in the State Legislature, where he remained four years.

“It was in 1858 that Mr. Blaine was sent to the legislature, where he was to pass a four years’ apprenticeship in the science of legislation in the stirring period just before and including the outbreak of the war. After service on important committees, he was twice elected Speaker of the lower House. Even at this comparatively early age, a little more than completing his third decade, he showed his genius for parliamentary law and procedure and his tact in the management of a deliberative assembly. Fortunate, indeed, must have been the legislature which enjoyed the

services of James G. Blaine as presiding officer. The fame of his short career in this capacity is still affectionately preserved in the State, and spoken of as a standard of comparison which his successors may hope to approach, but not to equal. It came quite naturally that, in 1862, he should emerge into the wider field of the Federal Congress. The full gravity of "storm and stress" epoch of the great Rebellion began to be fully appreciated, and the States were sending up their strongest men to the National councils to grapple with the problems of armament, defense, the sustaining of the nation's credit and the other emergencies of the vast, unexpected Civil War. General Garfield was recalled from the glorious front of battle, sorely against his will, to bear a more arduous duty in meeting the secret foes of the Union in the halls of the Capitol. Thaddeus Stevens, John A. Bingham, Boutwell, Conkling, Julian, Hayes, and others who were afterwards to play more noted, but sometimes less noble parts, then mostly in the first flush of their strength and manhood, and united by generous enthusiasm in one great cause, were there. The election of Mr. Blaine could not be otherwise than gratifying to his friend, President Lincoln, who leaned upon him almost implicitly

in regard to the political movement and sentiments in the far Northern Pine-Tree State, which was furnishing, without stint, her means and the strength of her stalwart sons by land and sea to the defense of the Union."

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE.

During his first two years in Congress Mr. Blaine took little active part. He devoted himself entirely to close observation of the occurrences which passed before him. There were older and more experienced men present. Men who, as members of one or the other of the old parties, had for years been eminent in the public service. These latter were in office both before and at the outbreak of the war; they were responsible for the policy of the dominant party and for the attitude it had assumed and had caused the Government to assume toward the insurgents; and it was, therefore, most wise and fitting that they should retain the leadership until the restoration of peace, and that their younger colleagues, no matter how great their ability, should be content for the time to follow them, rather than to strive for the supreme command. No one understood this more clearly than Mr. Blaine, and he

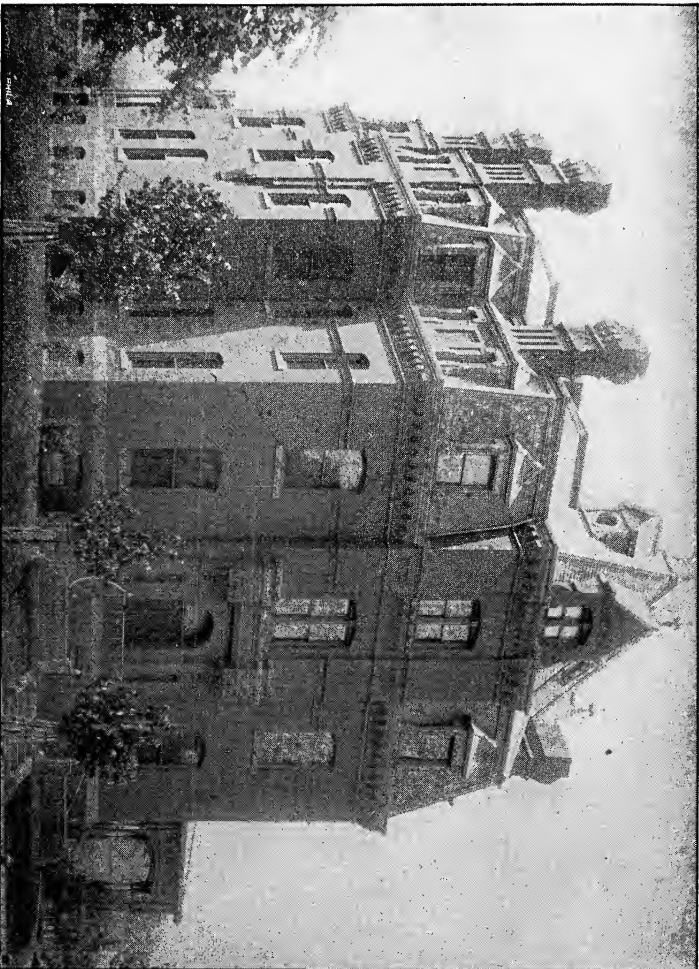
had the good sense to take a position far below what his ability amply fitted him for.

The casual spectator would have seen at his desk a young man of somewhat notable appearance, his dark hair and beard still unsnowed by time and care, with frank-like glance following every detail of the public business, and in other respects simply loyal to the lead of the eminent men on his side of the House who soon came to know him, and rely upon him, if they had not previously done so. During his first term in Congress Mr. Blaine was a member of four committees, those on rules, appropriations, military affairs, and the postoffice, and he quickly won a reputation as an exceedingly careful and industrious committeeman. He paid close attention to the practical work of framing legislation in the committee-rooms, and in debate on the floor of the House proved himself a worthy compeer of his associations. His first important speech was on the subject of assumption by the general Government of the war debts of the States. He took the ground that the North was abundantly able to prosecute the war to a successful issue, and so highly esteemed was his speech that 200,000 copies of it were circulated in 1864 as a campaign

document. Referring to the same speech, Thaddeus Stevens said that during his own period of service at Washington, no man had come to Congress showing, in his opinion, as great ability for the higher walks of public life as James G. Blaine.

As we said before, the young representative from Maine was a great admirer of Mr. Lincoln and a staunch supporter of the administration. In respect to his relations with the President, Mr. Ward H. Lamon, who was Marshal of the District of Columbia and on terms of special intimacy with Mr. Lincoln, makes the following statement:

“I knew those who were Mr. Lincoln’s friends and those who were plotting against him, and I am sure that there was no one among the younger members of Congress on more intimate, cordial and confidential terms with him than Mr. Blaine, nor was there any one more implicitly trusted by Mr. Lincoln. When the movement was made against Mr. Lincoln in the winter preceding the campaign of 1864, Mr. Blaine was the person with whom Mr. Lincoln constantly conferred about Maine, and I was present at a conference between the two, when Mr. Lincoln requested Mr. Blaine to proceed to Maine and see if there was any adverse movement there. Mr. Lincoln became acquainted



BLAINE'S RESIDENCE, WASHINGTON, D. C.



with Mr. Blaine in Illinois during his memorable campaign with Douglas in 1858. Mr. Blaine was corresponding from the scene of conquest with his paper in Maine, and in one of his letters he predicted that Lincoln would be defeated for Senator by Douglas, but would beat Douglas for President in 1860. This letter was copied in several Illinois papers, and Mr. Lincoln cut it out and carried it in his small memorandum book until long after he was inaugurated as President. It naturally laid the foundation for cordial friendship between the two.”

A few extracts will show his loyal and earnest attitude towards all the great questions of the day, especially with regard to all measures for the vigorous prosecution of the war. They will also show, viewed in the light of to-day, how judicial and practical his views were.

Read the following extracts from his speech supporting the bill for a draft, but opposing absolute conscription:

“A conscription is a hard thing at best, Mr. Speaker; but the people of this country are patriotically willing to submit to one in this great crisis for the great cause at stake. There is no necessity, however, for making it absolutely merciless and

sweeping. I say, in my judgment; there is no necessity for making it so, even if there were no antecedent questions as to the expediency and practicability of the measure. I believe the law, as it stands, allowing commutation and substitution, is sufficiently effective, if judiciously enforced. It will raise a large number of men by its direct operation, and it will secure a very large amount of money with which to pay bounties to volunteers.

“I cannot refrain from asking gentlemen around me whether in their judgment the pending measure, if submitted to the popular vote, would receive the support of even a respectable minority in any district in the loyal States? Just let it be understood that whoever the lot falls on must go, regardless of all business considerations, all private interests, all personal engagements, all family obligations; that the draft is to be sharp, decisive, final and inexorable, without commutation and without substitution, and my word for it, you will create consternation in all the loyal States. Such a conscription was never resorted to but once, even in the French Empire, under the absolutism of the first Napoleon; and for the Congress of the United States to attempt its enforcements upon their constituents is to ignore the first principles of Republican and representative government.”

In the fall of 1864 Mr. Blaine was elected for a second term in Congress. In this term we see him lay aside by degrees his role of reserve and observations, and move up to the position to which

THE LEADER OF THE MAJORITY.

his wonderful gifts entitle him. Still a young man, though with sagacity and, indeed, experience far beyond most of his elders in years, he found himself before the end of his third term regarded as the leader of the majority. A newspaper speaks of him at this time thus:

“Mr. Blaine is metallic; you cannot conceive how a shot should pierce him, for there seem no joints in his harness. He is a man who knows what the weather was yesterday morning in Dakota; what the Emperor’s policy will be touching Mexico; on what day of the week the 16th of December proximo will fall; who is chairman of the school committee in Kennebunk; what is the best way of managing the National debt, together with all the other interests of to-day, which anybody else would stagger under. How he does it, nobody knows. He is always in his place. He must absorb details by assimilation at his finger-ends. As I said, he

is clear metal. His features are made in a mould; his voice clinks, and he has ideas fixed as brass."

"THE SPEAKER."

Mr. Blaine's election to a fourth term in Congress was a matter of course. When the new House was organized the important post of Speakership fell upon him by common consent. Mr. Blaine was at that time only thirty-nine years old, but he had already shown himself the possessor of those qualities of dignity, firmness, fairness, readiness of decision and complete knowledge of parliamentary law and practice for the correct performances of the duties of that responsible and exalted office. But no matter what qualities a man had, "it was not a chair of roses, or at least the roses were thickly set with thorns. It is a fierce light which beats upon the Speaker's dias, and Mr. Blaine was too fearless and positive a man not to meet all the responsibilities of his post to the utmost. He held the balance with a firm hand between his own party, accustomed to power since the war and impatient of check, and a growing and turbulent minority, led by able men, and reckless in both legitimate and illegitimate opposition. One day the Speaker would be assailed by that

lawless guerrilla, "Ben" Butler, then posing as a Radical of the Radicals; the next day, or for a number of days, the Democrats would be "filibustering" by tactics of delay against some measure obnoxious to them, under the leadership of Mr. Randall, Mr. Cox and others, masters of all the arts of irritation and bedevilment of an adversary.

"Mr. Blaine's sheer endurance in this as in many other crisis was something to attract admiration and surprise. He always appeared in the Speaker's chair fresh, alert and even smiling; his voice never broke, nor did his hand falter with all the strain to which he was subjected; and after remaining in his place for hours and hours until the members upon the floor, though relieving each other often, and using all possible means to keep up strength, were hoarse and exhausted with fatigue, he would stroll home with his usual interest in the sights and sounds around him, take some very light refreshment and proceed to make up his arrears of sleep. It may here be recorded that during Mr. Blaine's whole service of six years as Speaker he was never absent a day from his post."

On taking the chair Mr. Blaine addressed his colleagues as follows:

“I thank you profoundly for the great honor which you have just conferred upon me. The gratification which this signal mark of your confidence brings to me, finds its only drawback in the diffidence with which I assume the weighty duties devolved upon me. Succeeding to a chair made illustrious by the services of such eminent statesmen and skilled parliamentarians as Clay and Stevenson, and Polk, and Winthrop, and Banks, and Grow, and Colfax, I may well distrust my ability to meet the just expectations of those who have shown me such marked partiality. But relying, gentlemen, on my honest purpose to perform all my duties faithfully and fearlessly, and trusting in a large measure to the indulgence which I am sure you will always extend to me, I shall hope to retain, as I have secured, your confidence, your kindly regard and your generous support.

“The forty-first Congress assembles at an auspicious period in the history of our government. The splendid and impressive ceremonial which we have just witnessed in another part of the capitol, appropriately symbolizes the triumphs of the past and the hopes of the future. A great chieftain, whose sword, at the head of gallant and victorious armies, saved the republic from dismemberment

and ruin, has been fitly called to the highest civic honor which a grateful people can bestow. Sustained by a Congress that so ably represents the loyalty, the patriotism and the personal worth of the Nation, the President of this day inaugurated will assure to the country an administration of purity, fidelity and prosperity; an era of liberty regulated by law, and of law thoroughly inspired with liberty.

“Congratulating you, gentlemen, upon the happy auguries of the day, and invoking the gracious blessing of Almighty God on the arduous and responsible labors before you, I am now ready to take the oath of office and enter upon the discharge of the duties to which you have called me.”

Mr. Blaine as speaker gave entire satisfaction to his own party and little cause of complaint to his opponents. This is a great deal, too, when we consider the height of political feeling. At the end of his term his old opponent Mr. Cox (N. Y.) offered this resolution: “In view of the difficulties involved in the performance of the duties of the presiding officer of this House, and of the able, courteous, dignified and impartial discharge of those duties by the Hon. J. G. Blaine during the present Congress, it is eminently becoming that

our thanks be, and they are tendered to the speaker thereof." In reply, Mr. Blaine said:

"Our labors are at an end; but I delay the final adjournment long enough to return my most profound and respectful thanks for the commendation which you have been pleased to bestow upon my official course and conduct.

"In a deliberate body of this character, a presiding officer is fortunate if he retains the confidence and steady support of his political associates. Beyond that, you give me the assurance that I have earned the respect and good will of those from whom I am separated by party lines. Your expressions are most grateful to me, and are most gratefully acknowledged.

"The Congress whose existence closes with this hour enjoys a memorable distinction. It is the first in which all the States have been represented on this floor since the baleful winter that preceded our late bloody war. Ten years have passed since then—years of trial and triumph; years of wild destruction and years of careful rebuilding; and after all, and as to the result of all, the National Government is here to-day, united, strong, proud, defiant, and just, with a territorial area vastly expanded, and with three additional States repre-

sented on the folds of its flag. For those prosperous fruits of our great struggle let us humbly give thanks to the God of battles and to the Prince of Peace.

“And now, gentlemen, with one more expression of the obligation I feel for the considerate kindness with which you have always sustained me, I perform the only remaining duty of my office in declaring, as I now do, that the House of Representatives of the Forty-first Congress is adjourned without day.”

In 1870 the people sent Mr. Blaine to the House for the fifth term and again the House made him its Speaker. Again in '72 he was elected and again made Speaker.

One notable incident marks the record of this Congress, especially effecting Mr. Blaine. “This was his wisdom and honesty in keeping clear of the temporary madness of the ‘salary grab bill,’ when so many reputable men seemed to be thrown off their balance by the prospect of a few thousand dollars back pay more than that to which they were entitled. It will be remembered that on the 1st of March, 1873, the bill was before the House increasing the salary of the President to \$50,000, the Justices of the Supreme Court, Vice-President, Speaker

and members of the Cabinet, to \$10,000, and members of Congress to \$6,500, with the proviso that the increase should begin with the other officers of the 4th of March, 1873, but with Senators and Representatives from the beginning of the existing Congress. Mr. Blaine readily detected the bearing of the measure. He called the attention of the House to the fact that upon the last previous increase of salaries, that of the Speaker was adjusted on the same plan as that of Vice-President and members of the Cabinet. He thought that adjustment should not be disturbed, and he therefore asked unanimous consent to insert the word 'hereafter' in reference to the Speaker's pay.

Mr. Randall objected, and Mr. S. S. Cox remarked: 'That saves the reputation of the House.'

"Mr. Blaine was of no mind to shoulder any part of the odium he saw the House was incurring. He earnestly appealed to Mr. Randall to withdraw the objection, and, as it was scarcely courteous to thrust upon an officer money which he insisted on declining, Mr. Randall consented. The Speaker promptly interlined the saving word. Awaking to the virtual repudiation thus made of the House's action, Mr. Farnsworth hastily interposed another

objection, but too late. The Speaker ruled him out of order, and, having thus cut himself clear of it without showing any open disrespect to the House or his party associates, put the bill to a vote. The effect which his adoption produced upon the public opinion need not be here detailed."

During this period of six years Mr. Blaine was not active on the floor of the House; his position prevented that; but he was the leading spirit in their councils.

"At the close of this Congress it was known that Mr. Blaine would not again occupy the Speaker's chair, since an overwhelming Democratic majority had been elected for the next House. A resolution, cordially thanking him for his conduct to the chair was unanimously adopted, on motion of Mr. Porter, Democrat, of New York, and Mr. Blaine made the following farewell address on leaving the position he had filled with such distinguished ability for the unusually long term of six years."

"I close with this hour a six years' service as Speaker of the House of Representatives—a period surpassed in length by but two of my predecessors, and equalled by only two others. The rapid mutations of personal and political fortunes in this

country have limited the great majority of those who have occupied this chair to shorter terms of office.

“It would be the greatest insensibility to the honors and responsibilities of life, not to be deeply touched by so signal a mark of public esteem as that which I have thrice received at the hands of my political associates. I desire in this last moment to renew to them, one and all, my thanks and my gratitude.

“To those from whom I differ in my party relations—the minority of this House—I tender my acknowledgments for the generous courtesy with which they have treated me. By one of those sudden and decisive changes which distinguish popular institutions, and which conspicuously mark a free people, that minority is transformed in the ensuing Congress to the governing power of the House. However it might possibly have been under other circumstances, that event renders these words my farewell to the Chair.

“The Speakership of the American House of Representatives is a post of honor, of dignity, of power, of responsibility. Its duties are at once complex and continuous; they are both onerous and delicate; they are performed in the broad light

of day, under the eye of the whole people, subject at all times to the closest observation, and always attended with the sharpest criticism. I think no other official is held to such instant and such rigid accountability. Parliamentary rulings in their very nature are peremptory; almost absolute in authority and instantaneous in effect. They cannot always be enforced in such a way as to win applause or secure popularity, but I am sure that no man of any party who is worthy to fill this chair will ever see a dividing line between duty and policy.

“Thanking you once more, and thanking you most cordially for the honorable testimonial you have placed on record to my credit, I perform my only remaining duty in declaring that the Forty-Third Congress has reached its constitutional limit, and that the House of Representatives stands adjourned without day.”

“So far from dispersing, as Mr. Blaine stepped lightly down from the rostrum, the crowded assemblage, floor and galleries, rose and greeted him with repeated salvos of applause, running in waves from side to side, with almost delirious cheering, clapping of hands and waving of handkerchiefs. Fully five minutes, it seemed, he was detained,

bowing and acknowledging, with emotion, this tribute to the record he had made, and for full half an hour there poured toward his standing

MINORITY LEADER.

place at the clerk's desk, a constant stream of members and citizens, anxious to press his hand and express in words the admiration and regret already shown in signs. None who were there can forget the impression made by this scene."

The election of 1874 was a Democratic "landslide," and their majority in the House was overwhelming. Therefore, Mr. Blaine, who was elected for the seventh time, became the leader of the minority on the floor. In this position he showed himself even to better advantage than under the more favorable circumstances. He was the most brilliant and effective minority leader ever in the House. This period was probably the most exciting and trying period in Mr. Blaine's life. But it was during this period as the champion of Northern principles against the growing power of the "Solid South" that he made himself the idol of the Republican party. He was compelled to fight the Southern leaders first from the point of his constitution and the North at large, and second

from the point of his own honor. The question of amnesty had been before the previous House and laid aside ; it came up again in January, 1876. "The chief point at issue being whether Jefferson Davis should be restored to all rights of citizenship, or should alone, of all the ex-rebels, be denied such favor." The debate that ensued was as fierce and as bitter as the language admits of. The leader of the debate on the Democratic side was Hon. B. H. Hill, of Georgia. He was a strong antagonist, but Mr. Blaine completely silenced him. The speech of Mr. Blaine, which was the culminating point of the debate, will be quoted later. As mentioned above, 1874 was a complete Democratic victory, the first since the war. "As soon as the House had been organized the majority appointed dozens of investigating committees, whose duty it was to look into the personal conduct of the Republican leaders. The era under investigation comprised the years of the war and the reconstruction period, immediately following. This was a time of large and lavish expen-

PERSONAL ATTACKS.

ditures, and unquestionably of considerable looseness and corruption in various quarters. The

numerous committees did succeed in exposing some abuses and dishonesty, and not a few prominent politicians were permanently retired with hopelessly besmirched reputations. But in the great majority of instances the quest of the investigators was fruitless."

Investigation had become a craze. Every committee of the House became an investigating committee, instead of attending to the business they "investigated;" investigating everything and everybody from the heads of departments to private citizens who had formed a pool to buy real estate.

It is needless to say that, up to this time, no breath of suspicion had touched Mr. Blaine. He had come through the troublous years during and after the war, when so many fell into temptation, without even a smell of fire upon his garments. Not a whisper was heard against his fame as an honest and disinterested legislator. Those who knew him best in his own State were most confident of his integrity and proudest of his record.

But the National Convention of 1876 was approaching. Blaine was beyond all doubt the most popular Republican candidate and hence he must be disposed of, so with little hesitation they "turn upon him one or more of those mud machines—their investigating committee."

So the trap was set to destroy Mr. Blaine's reputation and prospects. The time for springing it was shortly before the meeting of the convention, so that he might be attacked and yet have no opportunity to answer. "The charges were first spread through the public press in the form of vague innuendo and surmise, so that it was almost impossible to fix upon anything definite to contradict, while yet the public mind was put on the alert to receive something further, and hints were given that astonishing revelations would shortly be made. By degrees the allegations narrowed down to some degree of definiteness. It was not charged that Mr. Blaine was a perjurer, a defaulter, a swindling contractor, or an oppressor of the poor; his moral character in private life was admitted to be above reproach; but the head and front of his offending was that he had held stock or bonds of certain Western railways, and it was charged that he was unduly favored in his investments, on account of his official position."

The first definite accusation was that Mr. Blaine had been mixed up with Thomas A. Scott, then President of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, in a transaction by which he had in some way received, for reasons not stated, \$64,000 in cash,

through Morton, Bliss & Co., bankers. Rising in his place, on April 24th, 1876, Mr. Blaine not only denied the story in all its protean forms, but, exhibiting telegrams from the Treasurer and President of the Union Pacific, from Morton, Bliss & Co., and from Thomas A. Scott, proved its utter falsity. He then went on voluntarily to explain his connection with the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad Company, on which the charge had partly been founded, showing that he had invested as any private citizen or business man has a right to invest his funds, and, instead of a gainer, had been a heavy loser by the venture. He concluded in these words: "I am, now, Mr. Speaker, in the fourteenth year of a not inactive service in this Hall. I have taken and given blows. I have, no doubt, said many things in the heat of debate which I would now gladly recall. I have, no doubt, given votes, which in fuller light I would gladly change. But I have never done anything in my public career for which I could be put to the faintest blush in any presence, or for which I cannot answer to my constituents, my conscience and the great Searcher of hearts."

A short time after this an article appeared in the New York *Herald* to the effect that he had received

as a gift certain bonds of the Kansas Pacific Railroad, that there were witnesses to the transfer, and that he was concerned in a suit about them in the courts of Kansas. Mr. Blaine obtained letters from all the "witnesses" positively denying any knowledge of the affair; and General Ewing wrote from Lancaster, Ohio, that the Mr. Blaine suing in Kansas was J. E. Blaine, brother of the ex-Speaker, an early settler in the State, who had bought stock in the Kansas Pacific before his elder brother was ever nominated to Congress. Mr. Blaine gave his answer to the charge May 1st, and ended his remarks thus:

"Having now noticed the two charges that have been so extensively circulated, I shall refrain from calling the attention of the House to any others that may be invented. To quote the language of another: 'I do not propose to make my public life a perpetual and uncomfortable flea-hunt, in the vain effort to run down stories which have no basis in truth, which are usually anonymous, and whose total refutation brings no punishment to those who have been guilty of originating them.'"

His foes are foiled, but not beaten! Again they strike, and this time with the most powerful weapons that can be used against any man—his own

private correspondence. Two witnesses from Boston, named Fisher and Mulligan, were summoned to Washington to disclose what they knew. The latter had been a confidential clerk, and had abstracted from a mass of papers to which he had access a number of Mr. Blaine's letters, which were said to be fatally incriminating. The whole country was wild. Suddenly the case changed. Mr. Blaine had somehow obtained possession of his letters and refused to surrender them to the committee on investigation. This did not help matters much, but rather worked against him. On the 5th of June Mr. Blaine rose and defended himself on the floor of the House in a speech which caused tremendous excitement, and which was undoubtedly one of the greatest oratorical efforts of his life. The scene in the House was more than remarkable. Every member was in his seat. A majority of the Senate sat about on sofas or chatted with friends on the floor. The galleries were crowded, and thousands were denied admission. The rap of the Speaker's gavel and the Chaplain's prayer brought on the proceedings, and the spirit of the occasion was not long delayed. Almost every eye in the assemblage was centered on Mr. Blaine, who was in his seat and sat "calm and serene as a kitchen

clock," as he afterwards expressed it. The routine of business over, the majestic figure arose and, amidst breathless silence, moved into the aisle leading from his seat. He spoke but few words by way of suggesting a personal explanation, and then, with an air as defiant as it was sublime, said:

"While I deny the power of Congress to compel the production of private papers, I reserve nothing." Then, dramatically holding up a package of letters, he said: "Thank God! I am not ashamed to show them. This is the original package, and, with some sense of humiliation, with a mortification that I do not attempt to conceal, with a sense of outrage which I think any man in my position would feel, I take into my confidence the forty-four millions of my countrymen while I read these letters from this desk."

As the statesman read letter after letter there was a hum of approval through the assemblage that inspired him. Intense as was this scene, the climax was to be more so. When he had finished he passed the letters to his secretary, Sherman, now Consul-General at Liverpool. There was a pause. It was a painful silence. Then the gladiator, gathering himself for a new onset, walked down the aisle in front of the Speaker's desk with

a look of indignation on his face. What is to come next? thought the crowd, as they eagerly leaned forward. Blaine, of Maine, called Mr. Knott, of Kentucky, to the book and demanded that he produce before the House a cablegram from Europe, signed by Josiah Caldwell, who was said to be the chief witness against him, exonerating him from every charge made in the arraignment which he was fighting. Mr. Caldwell was supposed to be the one witness to put the stigma of corruption upon the man under ban, and his testimony had been awaited with much interest. This assault upon Mr. Knott was intensified when the Speaker charged that the chairman of the investigating committee had kept the evidence in his favor in his pocket for many days for political effect. The implication was that delay as well as accusation was to be summoned against his candidacy for the Presidential nomination upon the threshold upon which he stood.

Never in the history of the House had such excitement prevailed as, when at the close of his speech, Mr. Blaine, with a blaze of wrath no longer repressed, strode down the aisle and confronted Mr. Knott with the words, "YOU HAVE SUPPRESSED IT!"

The mere tone and gesture of a man would have carried away an audience less excited and wrought up than the one that heard him, or one less devoted to fair play, than an assemblage of so many Americans. Taken altogether, with the whole occasion that had inspired it, and the popularity of the orator who had assumed the aggressive so effectively, the sensation produced was something indescribable. Another wild storm of applause greeted the ex-Speaker.

The scenes and the results which all this produced destroyed the investigation, and all parties to it were more than half exhausted when its spell was broken. To Mr. Blaine the strain of so many years of physical and intellectual endeavor, with two years of stroke and party in the realm of fight, the result was more apparent than in the ranks of his assailants. The reaction of that one year bore hard on a system which was dominated more by the head than the muscles. The blow at the mind had dwarfed physical exertion, when the nerves and the muscles had been drawn upon to supply the brain that was so restless. That era was but the beginning of the end that had just been reached.

After this episode Blaine's name was on every tongue, and his hosts went to Cincinnati armed

with the spirit of their cause. Their cartridge-boxes were filled with an enthusiastic ammunition that has never yet spent its force.

It is now Sunday morning. The convention of 1876 meets to-morrow. The corridors of the hotels are filled with men shouting but one name. The adherents of Bristow are hidden away in some quiet places without blood enough in their canvass to provoke a noise. The adherents of Mr. Conkling, who represented the power of administration, were the only ones with vitality enough to be heard above the clamor for Blaine. For the first time in history of National Conventions, glee clubs, professional singers and other implements for the creation of sentiment and enthusiasm were on the streets and in the hotels singing for Blaine of Maine. At the moment when spirit and sentiment ruled, the man who was thus honored, with his wife, walked from their quiet home on Fifteenth street towards the Congregational Church, at the corner of Ninth and G. The weather was oppressively hot; but it was not only that which made the statesman's brain and blood warm to fever heat. The combats of years had reached a climax, and as his feet touched the steps of the edifice he fell as if struck with a bolt of lightning. The scene

which followed cannot be pictured with words. He was carried home. A bed was brought into his parlor. Doctors were summoned, and for hours the nation almost held its breath. All the world asked for news from his bedside as rapidly as the wires could carry it.

Sitting by the side of the moaning statesman's couch that Sunday morning, his popularity, not only with this, but with other lands, was tested by the news which was sent and the missives answered at almost every pulse beat. Hundreds waited outside the door, thousands surrounded the bulletin boards, and the clamor for anything from the bedside of the stricken chief from Cincinnati were as thick as snowflakes in a winter's storm. If the scenes of the few months in the House of Representatives just past were intensely dramatic, the picture now being painted was pathetic to sublimity. How feebly can the subtle power of the brain describe that morning panorama of action and passion then on. No matter what its cunning may gather and put into queer shapes and form, it leaves the story for the imagination after all.

Gradually the first stroke of overworked energies give way to the strong physical powers below the head. The assault is not dangerous, and the wel-

come words go to the convention that its idol is still in touch with mankind in all its broader elements. The sensation has had its effect. Cameron, who never liked Blaine, holds his delegation away from the man it wants, to put it where it will do the most

IN THE SENATE.

good in an emergency. John Sherman, with a weather eye to the main chance, sees a place for Hayes, and takes pieces of flesh for the chicken raiser which belongs to "the man from Maine." The wonderful eloquence of Colonel Bob Ingersoll does not down the office-holders and the other influences that can be commanded against him. So it is that the man whom eight-tenths of the Republican party wanted for its nominee lost his first and last chance for the Presidency, but came out of the fight wearing the broad title of the "Plumed Knight," which Ingersoll had given him, and which the world has recognized as being his right to wear to the day of his death.

The Cincinnati Convention was scarcely over before Mr. Blaine was appointed to a seat in the United States Senate. Lot M. Morrill, one of the Senators from Maine, had been made Secretary of the Treasury, thus leaving a vacancy in the Maine

delegation, which was promptly filled by the Governor's appointment. In the following January he was elected for the full term ending March 4, 1883.

Mr. Blaine's entrance into the Senate stirred up a great commotion. He brought with his presence an air of fresh life, the health of out of doors, of the green fields, of the busy workshop, of the noisy exchange, of intercourse with the people. He made no intimation of saying, "By your leave, gentlemen," but came as by right, caring little for the dignified and solemn ways of those venerable Senators, but hurrying in as it were to a Maine town meeting.

And in the same manner he rushed into debate, right and left, dealing hard blows on all sides and taking them without even a murmur. The elder Senators, shocked at his lack of deference and provoked at his temerity, cudgelled him with downright bitterness; but never a bitter word in reply, but going right on with the attack and in his own free way.

"—— him!" said a venerable and provoked Senator from Connecticut, "he has brought over with him the manners of the House!"

Mr. Blaine opposed the creation of the Electoral Commission for the settlement of the disputed

Presidential election of 1876, on the ground that Congress did not itself possess the power that it proposed to confer on the commission. He condemned the Southern policy of President Hayes, never ceasing to contend that he surrendered too much of what had been gained through reconstruction. He did not hesitate to maintain that the security of Mr. Hayes' own title depended entirely upon the validity of the State governments in South Carolina and Louisiana, both resting on the same popular vote.

He was unalterably against the Bland bill, seeking to amend it when its passage seemed inevitable by providing that the dollar should contain 425 grains of standard silver instead of $412\frac{1}{2}$ grains. He favored a bimetallic currency and equally resisted the adoption of the single gold standard as the putting forth of a deprecated silver currency. His favored measures for the revival of American shipping, advocated the establishment of a line of mail steamers to Brazil, and proposed a subsidy in aid of this project.

During the conflict over the appropriation bills in the spring of 1879 Mr. Blaine was among the foremost of the Senate in defending the executive prerogative and in opposing what was called legis-

lative coercion. On the Chinese question he early declared himself in favor of restricting their immigration. In one of his speeches in the Senate he took the ground that these people should be either at once admitted to the rights of citizenship or that they must be excluded. The former course was as impracticable as it was dangerous; that they could not be assimilated with our citizens or institutions, and that it was a duty to protect the free laborer of America against the servile laborer of China.

It is a fact that is well known as the rising of the

GARFIELD'S SECRETARY OF STATE.

sun that after the conflict at Chicago had gone against him his ideas about the Presidency grew so dim that they faded into a recollection of his ambitions for that place. His mind turned in a different direction and he threw his whole heart into the making of a foreign policy for this Government which he loved. If he had not lost the desire he had at least forsaken the hope of ever reaching the place.

At the beginning of Garfield's administration, when he was called by that President to sit at his right hand, the bent of his mind is read in his attitude towards South America. He took his

office in March and before the first of May he had formulated what the country was pleased to call an aggressive foreign policy with the lands to the south of us, whose trade we have not but should have. Certainly his plans were broad enough to suit the spirit of the age; and had the President, whom he had made, lived, there is no telling what mighty results might have come from the lines he

A PRIVATE CITIZEN.

had laid and the guides he had put out in many directions. How he was attacked for this departure from the cobwebs of our former diplomacy is well known. His defense was clear and energetic. After nearly twenty years of acquaintance with him, this assault upon his ideal brought out the first authentic interview he was ever known to give for publication. It appeared in the *Washington Post* and made a sensation, but he stood by every word of it and the country applauded.

The death of General Garfield was a severe blow to him and his aspirations. Naturally it put him out of the Cabinet, and he retired to Augusta somewhat broken in health after the strain that hard work, anxiety and death had put upon him. There was upon his expressive face that



BLAINE'S RESIDENCE, BAR HARBOR.

same pallor of cheek that recalled the scene on the church door step in Washington in 1876. There

“TWENTY YEARS OF CONGRESS.”

was strong light in the eyes, showing clearness of brain, but the tax on the body had been kept up to a tension that was wearing, and the physical thermometer gave its indication in the face.

Mr. Blaine soon grew strong in the healthful atmosphere and quiet surroundings of his early life, and turned his thoughts towards the record of his wonderful career in public life. He began his “Twenty Years in Congress” as a safety-valve for his mind while he was resting. He worked at it with great regularity, and for a time it was a pleasure rather than an exaction. But when his publishers began growling for copy, he found that literary pursuits were quite as irksome as political manœuvres were uncertain.

In April of 1884 Mr. Blaine presented to the public the first volume of his “Twenty Years of Congress,” a work which covered the period from Lincoln to Garfield, with a review of the events which led to the political revolution of 1860. This work is, in fact, a biography of the American people, everything—abstract questions and indivi-

duals—being subordinated in the effort to produce a clear and strong picture of the life of the nation. The thoughts of the people, as they varied from year to year, their times of indecision and darkness; of swift insight and heroic resolution; their days of timidity and weak compromising with wrong, and their grand endurance and unflinching fidelity when the crisis was at last brought clearly before them; their singular sagacity in decisions of vital moment—all these are portrayed in Mr. Blaine's narrative with clearness and power. The story he tells in his first volume is given with the simplicity and compactness of a trained journalist, and yet with sufficient fulness to make the picture distinct and vivid in almost every detail. The book is as easy to read as a well-written novel; it is clear and interesting, and commands the attention throughout, the more for the absence of anything like oratorical display or forensic combativeness.

NOMINATION FOR PRESIDENT.

In its main features Mr. Blaine's history is one of universal value. In literary polish it is not beyond criticism, though occasional infelicities of expression and instances of inadventure do not outweigh the general lucidity and force of style.

It is not at all points unerring in portraiture, nor infallible in judgment, though the writer's impartiality of spirit and desire to be just are conspicuous, and he gives cogent reasons for opinions expressed. But in broad and comprehensive appreciations of the forces by which the development of public opinion has been affected, the work possesses extraordinary merit.

In 1884 he finally saw his fondest hopes realized when the National Republican Convention at Chicago nominated him for the Presidency. He immediately set to work and took a most vigorous part in the campaign. His share of the work showed an eager desire for his own success, which his evident ambition had always indicated. While he had always been known as a masterly stump orator, he never previously spoke half so well as when he was prosecuting his own presidential campaign. At that time he made the necessity of protection to American interests the staple of his arguments, although it has become very evident since then that he is in reality as nearly a free-trader as a Republican can possibly be. Indeed, many have held that he has always at heart been not at all a believer in the theories of protection, and it may be recalled in this connection that while

at school and college he was especially noted for his ability and progress in the study of political economy, and it can hardly be maintained that a thoroughly animated political economist can possibly be a protectionist. He was defeated in this election, as Mr. Grover Cleveland carried New York by a majority of 1,047 votes, and the man who was not only perhaps the cleverest, but certainly the most ambitious American living, was again doomed to retire to private life.

But he was too well trained a soldier, too battle-stained a veteran in the war of politics to show his feelings to the outside world. He proceeded with the work upon his book, which was still unfinished, and in a short time had it ready for the press. It is certainly one of the most important contributions to the records of contemporaneous political history ever written by an American statesman, and as such deserves a high place in the literature of this class, not to mention its eminent value as a textbook for students of American politics. He spent the years of '87-'88 in Europe, having been ordered there by his doctors, who feared that carrying the burden of public life for so many years had seriously impaired his physique which needed rest and change to enable it to recover its former stamina.

HARRISON'S SECRETARY OF STATE.

From Paris he wrote a letter, afterwards published in the *New York Tribune*, urging that the campaign of '88 should also be fought out upon the platform of protective tariff.

Shortly after Mr. Harrison's election to the Presidential chair he returned to this country and immediately after the inauguration he was recalled to his old post in the Department of State, which he held until his recent resignation and at which time an exceedingly curt correspondence took place between the President and himself, which is doubtless still fresh in the minds of our readers.

The most notable events of his last administration of the State Department—which was characterized by the same “rigorous foreign policy” as before—were the adjustment of the troubles with Italy arising from the wholesale lynching in New Orleans, the rather prolonged controversy with Chile, the accomplishment of his reciprocity plan, and the firm stand taken in the Behring sea difficulty. The events of his life since the Minneapolis Convention have been few and not of public interest. The death of his sons Walker and Emmons Blaine in the last two years, as well as

his continual disappointments of the past few "lustres," have all contributed towards his death at this comparatively early age. His personal habits were always of the best; until he was about fifty he enjoyed the most robust and almost exuberant good health. While not adverse to the proper and moderate use of table wines, he never in his life took a drink of the so-called "hard liquors," and is said to have been totally unfamiliar even with the taste of whiskey, brandy and other spirits.

SHARE THIS FEELING.

And now! The greatest American of recent times is numbered with the historic dead of a grateful Republic. So electric was Mr. Blaine's vitality, so commanding a figure has he been in public life for thirty years, so symmetrical was the development of his intellectual powers, and so inexhaustible were the resources of his statesmanship that it is almost impossible to think of him as lying cold in death. To hundreds of thousands of Americans the melancholy tidings of his last hours will come with a poignant sense of personal grief. We are not speaking now of his private friendship formed during his busy life, but of the influence which he

exerted on a host of followers unknown to him, but brought under the magic spell of his leadership and political genius. When Mr. Clay died, there were hundreds of earnest men like Horace Greely who felt that they could never again take interest in American politics. Now that Mr. Blaine's career has ended, there are thousands of Americans who share this feeling.

The secret of Mr. Blaine's influence over men was revealed by Mr. Disraeli in a sentence from *Coningsby*, written when the future Prime Minister was only known as an aspiring and cynical novelist: "A leader who can inspire enthusiasm, he commands the world! Divine faculty! Rare and incomparable privilege!" It was Mr. Disraeli's destiny to become a great leader, and to hold his party together in defeat and victory without exciting enthusiasm or inspiring popular confidence, while his life-long rival, inferior as a political tactician, was to succeed always in touching men's hearts and stirring the pulses of his followers. Mr. Blaine, like Mr. Gladstone, has had the incomparable gift of inspiring enthusiasm. No other American since Lincoln has commanded in equal measure the love, confidence, and loyal devotion of a great political party. Lord Beaconsfield, master-

ful as was his genius and brilliant as were his success in European diplomacy, could never overcome a prejudice among his own people against him as a statesman whose instincts and methods were essentially un-English. He remained always an inscrutable figure at Westminster, distrusted as an alien in his ideas and politics—an Eastern necromancer in prosaic Britain. Mr. Blaine was loved, trusted, and followed because in feeling, conviction and instinct, he was known to be an American among Americans.

Mr. Blaine, like Mr. Gladstone and every other aggressive political leader of pre-eminent abilities, had bitter enemies, and they exhausted the resources of defamation in vehement and cynical hostility; but they never ventured to call in question the genuineness of his Americanism. That was something that passed, even in the most heated canvass, without a challenge. It was an Americanism that smacked of the soil. It was so broad that it covered the resources and interests of the nation from ocean to ocean, and it rose so high above the levels of ordinary public thought as to command future vistas of continental prestige and influence, wherein the American people would direct the commercial exchanges of two hemis-

pheres and inspire races of alien blood with the genius of free institutions and pacific progress.

It was an Americanism keenly sensitive to infractions of treaty engagements, to wanton outrages on the rights of citizens, and to insults offered to the flag. It gloried in an industrial independence won by wise legislation, an independence as complete as the political liberties conquered by blood and sacrifice a century ago. It was an Americanism inspired by an abiding faith in the destiny of the nation as one of the chief forces of civilization ordained by Providence for spreading light and the blessings of peace in the world. It was the breath of his life and his chief resource in exciting the enthusiasm of Americans. Now that he has fallen, his enemies themselves being the witnesses, a nation will mourn him as the greatest American of his generation.

Mr. Blaine's pre-eminent ability commanded universal acknowledgement; his unequalled popular leadership was everywhere recognized; but his character and aspirations were much misunderstood. Many who did not know him and who were under the influence of prejudice wholly misconceived his moving impulses. They supposed he had a consuming and insatiable ambition to be Pres-

ident, which ruled all his actions and pursued him to the last years of his life. They regarded him as theatrical in method, as full of stage art and as constantly studying effect.

This view is placed upon a complete misjudgment of events and upon a radical misconception of character. For a time, after he became indisputably the foremost popular leader of his party, Mr. Blaine undoubtedly had an earnest and honorable ambition to be President. It was the inevitable sequence of his personal primacy, and it was entirely legitimate. It was a logical necessity which he could not escape without renouncing his political career and his natural position. The Republican party was divided into two wings with different methods and inspirations. One was the regular organized army; the other was the mass of the volunteers. One was led by Morton, Conkling, Logan and Cameron, with Grant over all so long as he was in politics; the other was led by Blaine, towering above all of his associates. In the very nature of the case the liberal, popular wing was certain to make a contest for the Presidency, and just as certainly in the nature of the case it would not make a contest without Blaine as its leader.

Mr. Blaine accepted the duty joyously, and

threw his whole soul into it. This ran through the two contests of 1876 and 1880. Then Mr. Blaine's ambition to be President spent itself. To a friend who, shortly after the death of Garfield, said to him that the logic of the situation would make him the candidate in 1884, he replied: "No; I was very ambitious in '76, and pretty ambitious in '80; but four months by the side of Garfield, seeing what the Presidency is, has cured me of all that ambition." It was a perfectly honest and sincere utterance. The logic of the situation did make Mr. Blaine the candidate in 1884, but not his own ambition or his own desire. Indeed, it was with the utmost difficulty that he was persuaded to acquiesce in the movement made in his name. Not only did he shrink from another contest, but he foresaw defeat. His marvellous political prescience was strikingly illustrated. Repeatedly through the preliminary canvass before the convention he expressed the belief that with the existing conditions no Republican candidate could be elected. After he became heated with the campaign he may have thought at times that success was possible, but it is not known that toward the close he returned to his original conviction.

In 1888 he would have been nominated over-

whelmingly, had he yielded his assent. But his attitude was the soul of honor. He felt that, having been the candidate once and defeated, he could not honorably be an aspirant again, and could not accept even an unsought nomination unless it came by acclamation and with the concurrence of all the candidates. These conditions he knew would not exist, and he peremptorily declined. This history cannot be reconciled with an inordinate ambition. The truth is that, after his taste of the State Department in 1881, Mr. Blaine preferred its serene statecraft to the turmoil and anxieties of the Presidency. He had passed through his full share of strenuous battle, and in the splendid maturity of his ripened powers he rose above the smaller contentions of politics, and found his most congenial pursuits among the loftier questions which shape the destiny of nations.

Nothing could be more unjust than that conception of Mr. Blaine which imparted to him a straining for effect. In 1884 several friends urged him to embody in his letter of acceptance some catch-phrases of patriotic ring designed to please the ears of the groundlings. He declined with the declaration that this was unworthy of the high dignity, and that he would not do a thing as candidate

which he would not do as President. Much of what was regarded as dramatic sprang from his extraordinary quickness of perception, and rapidity of decision and action. He never did anything more striking, not even when he marched down the aisle of the House as the Plumed Knight than when he cabled his interview from Paris on Mr. Cleveland's tariff message in 1877. He had no personal purpose or end. But he saw as by a flash of lightning the opportunity to strike and clinch the issue for the Presidential contest, and he made the stroke of genius.—No other man could have done it even without the disadvantage of the ocean's distance. Mr. Blaine did it, not for himself, but for his party, and in a broader sense for his country. And that brilliant act illustrated his quality and exemplified the method, growing out of his instantaneous grasp and decision, which was mistaken by some for dramatic effect. Emerson said of Napoleon that he would shorten a straight line to come at his point. Mr. Blaine was often Napoleonic.

After this great service Mr. Blaine belonged less to himself than to his party and to the nation. No nomination in our history has been more distinctly the work and command of the average voter than

his in 1884. It had its fatal opposition in his own party; but if ever the great mass of honest and candid voters in the Republican party passed their deliberate verdict of truth and confidence on the character of a public man, it was done in their demand for his nomination, and in the vote they gave him after a canvass of slander and defamation matched indeed in our annals, but matched only in the assaults on the motives of Washington and on the patriotism of Lincoln.

Even defeat left Mr. Blaine no less the leading American of his day. There grew through the nation, independent of party lines and of sectional differences, a profound appreciation and admiration of the man who, as every great question appeared, voiced unerringly the sentiment and conviction of the great masses of his country, who said what they thought and who thought what they said. In 1888, as before, he again expressed the dominant sentiment of his party, and sounded the keynote of his campaign; but a greater work, and one transcending party lines, was now shaping itself in his masterful hands.

For twelve years, from the Pan-American Conference, which Garfield approved and his successor hesitated to support, to the reciprocity treaties of

the past two years, James G. Blaine was the first of living Americans to see the duty and responsibility which lay upon this land, to assume the leadership of the continent, to draw closer the bonds of union among its nations, to suppress war by requiring the international arbitration of differences, and to promote mutual trade by mutual concessions.

Ten years have but begun this work. In urging it Mr. Blaine was in advance at many points of his day, his party, and even his country. But here again he voiced the dumb, inarticulate desire of millions of Americans who long unconsciously, but nevertheless sincerely, to see this great country exercising a supreme and peaceful influence among the nations of this hemisphere. History will see much to record in Mr. Blaine's career. His matchless personal influence, his eloquence, his political prescience, his power both to lead his party and to know what leadership his party desired, will all alike receive recognition. The history which he added to the literature of his country insures him a permanent place in that brief list of those who enjoyed the double power to make history and to write it. There will be sorrow for his disappointments and a clear apprehension that his best friends

were not those who clouded his last months with false and interested advice. But beyond all and over all will be praise and appreciation of the great policy which the future will see triumphant, under which this country justly claims the duties and responsibilities of its power and position among the nations of the West in a peaceful and unbroken union of common protection, common interests, harmonious relations, and a reciprocal trade between all American bonds.

The man was greater even than his work. Looming up behind the record, gleaming through all the achievements, was the supreme personality of the generation. There was the overmastering figure whom the thousands of his numbered friends loved to cherish and the millions of his uncounted admirers loved to picture. Many elements entered into that peerless individuality. His unrivalled charm of manner, his irresistible fascination, his wonderful fertility and facility, his inexhaustible store of anecdote and illustration, his marvellous memory that never missed a face or a name or an association and historical detail for instant and universal service, his quick perception and instantaneous action, his controversial dexterity, his genius of political divination, his intense spirit of Ameri-

canism and patriotism which embodied and typified the genuine impulse of the American people—all these qualities blended and made up the winsome man and the matchless leader.

And so now and on the morrow of his death, the plaudits of history and the praise of posterity seem but a light and empty thing by the bier of the man who goes to his grave loved as no man of his day has been loved by the million. It is much to have been the leading American, to have stood on the world's stage and played a great part in the affairs of men; it is more, a thousand times more, that in lonely farm houses, in solitary villages, in great cities, in all places where Americans live and work, the news of his death will bring a strange sorrow to men that never saw him, that their life as citizens and their action as Republicans will seem the emptier because "Blaine is dead."

HIS DEATH.

MR. BLAINE started in his political life with a physique that lacked nothing. It was simply superb. Rare is the case, indeed, where we find the physical and mental forces so equally balanced. He was the perfection of the Greek conception of "a sound mind in a sound body." But, temperate as he was from a moral standpoint, yet in sixty-three years he consumed a body that should have lasted a quarter of a century longer. Beyond all question, Mr. Blaine broke himself down by intemperate work and irregular habits of eating. Mr. Blaine was a high-pressure worker. Whenever he became deeply interested in a subject, his ardent nature led him to work beyond his strength. He would shut himself up in his room, would not allow himself to be disturbed, and would not eat, sleep or rest until he had finished his task. He seemed to have adopted the motto of the

great electrician, Edison, who works in much the same way: "Don't look at the clock."

An example of Mr. Blaine's habit of continued uninterrupted labor was furnished in the early part of the Bering Sea correspondence. He became intensely absorbed in carrying on this correspondence with Great Britain, and would retire to his room, where he worked with law books, diplomatic correspondence and papers piled around him. He would start in after breakfast, and sometimes would work on steadily, without rest or food, until 9 or 10 o'clock at night. Then he would be too fatigued to eat, and the next morning would make up for it. These fits of labor would use him up for a week.

He was not ordinarily a large eater, but he was very irregular in his eating. Apparently he had no marked fondness for any kind of food. He did not care for fancy dishes and when travelling seldom consulted the menu, but told the waiter to bring him a good meal. He liked plain, old-fashioned cooking. Whenever he did taste anything which greatly pleased him it was hard to get him to quit, and he would continue to eat despite his watchful wife's admonitions. In former years he was fond of horseback riding, and took considerable exer-

cise, but of late he showed much disinclination to bodily exertion. Besides this, to a man of his sensitive nature there are other causes for his impaired health.

Even after several severe attacks of illness it was hard to believe in his bodily weakness, for physically he was a striking looking man. His mien was rugged and his deeply furrowed face bespoke indomitable will-power and firmness. His hair was sparse and closely cut, and he wore a full beard. In height he was nearly six feet, and his frame was almost colossal. To the last he preserved a youthful elasticity of temperament, remarkable in a man of his age. His attire was always neat and appropriate, and everything about him showed that neither in mind nor body was he lacking in muscle or sinew.

A singular story regarding Mr. Blaine is being told. It is to this effect: Four years ago some of his friends told him about a remarkable astrologer. This seer had imparted to them, so they said, some remarkably truthful statements of their past lives. Of course they were unable to say whether his prophecies regarding the future would be borne out by the facts. Nevertheless, they were very much impressed with the knowledge displayed by

this caster of horoscopes, and, animated by a spirit of curiosity, Mr. Blaine, so the story goes, called upon the wise man.

Mr. Blaine regarded the matter in the light of a joke, and was in a jovial frame of mind. The astrologer consulted many books. He entered into a series of apparently abstruse calculations, and among other things said that Mr. Blaine would die in the year 1893, and thought that the event would occur either on or before January 27. Mr. Blaine repeated at least this much of what was told him.

This story was told me two weeks ago. It was then and had been for some days in active circulation in certain circles. The entire incident is to-day the source of much wonder and comment among the people familiar with the story.

One of his friends in speaking of Mr. Blaine, says:

Mr. Blaine was very tenacious of life, and I never traveled with a man who was more concerned about his safety on railroads. He was extremely nervous, and if anything happened in the way of a slight accident to the train it upset him at once. He was very fond of company, and always liked to have some one to talk to, and when left to him-

self was very apt to be moody and melancholy. He may have had some premonition of his organic trouble, but it was very evident to any person brought much in contact with him that good company and cheerful surroundings were necessary to his health.

There was a vein of something approaching superstition in him which has always made me wonder that he consented to move into the old Seward mansion, considering the mishaps that have befallen its former occupants.

Mr. Blaine's ill health dates back seventeen years to that fateful Sunday in 1876 when he fell prostrate on the steps of the Congregational Church in Washington. The strain had been too great. He had passed through the darkest hours of his life without a sign of weakness; he had vindicated himself before Congress and the world; he had covered his enemies with confusion, and made sure his nomination and election when he was struck down. The cherished hope of his life was crushed never to rise again. An eye-witness says:

“Mr. Blaine's face was overspread with a shocking pallor, his mouth was wide open with the lips curled as if he was attempting to scream and his eyes were distended.

"A looking-glass was placed before his mouth, but there was no mark left upon its surface, and a lighted match waved close to his eyes produced neither dilation nor contraction of the iris. There was no motion of the chest and no sign of respiration was apparent. The doctors worked like beavers over the prostrate form.

"Mrs. Blaine sat at the head of the improvised bed, holding her husband's right hand until nearly six o'clock, watching the fight against the deadly coma."

"The doctors were rewarded at last by a stertorous breath and a guttural enunciation which sounded like 'Abby.' Miss Dodge understood the hoarse sound first, and leaning close to him, said, 'James,' are you calling me? Do you want Abby?"

"Mr. Blaine was able to nod his head and articulate clearly in a few minutes, and the doctors knew that their great fight had been successful."

"From that moment Mr. Blaine steadily improved, and reassuring telegrams were sent broadcast through the country, but no one imagined that it would not be a week or more before Mr. Blaine would dare to take up the reins of the political leadership again. This was only the beginning of the end. When he returned from the Cabinet

on the death of Mr. Garfield, his health was very poor, and the doctors told him, then, that he must be careful of himself. Three years of quiet life greatly restored him, so that he entered the campaign of 1884 ready for anything."

He went through, in that campaign, about two months of the hardest work of his life. He traveled thousands of miles, making speeches day and night, often speaking seven or eight times a day from the rear platform of the private car he and his party occupied. He was often exposed to the cold night air after speaking with insufficient wraps, and the loss of sleep and irregularity of his meals alone were enough to make him ill. The way in which he kept up through it all was a source of constant surprise to those who were with him on the trip. He would at times be lying down in the car when the train would stop at some little station, where there would be a crowd of people to see him and hear him speak. He would be roused up, and though he was sometimes irritable and disagreeable to the people who were with him in the car, as soon as he reached the door where the assembled people could see him, he would brace up and put on a pleasant expression of countenance and would then make one of those five or ten-

minute speeches that attracted the attention of the entire people.

Mr. Blaine came out of the campaign with his highest ambition defeated and his health broken forever. In '87 and '88 he was ordered abroad by his doctors. The surprise is that he ever returned alive. He tried the greatest physicians in England, but found only temporary relief. He returned home improved, yet, far from well, to enter the cabinet of Mr. Harrison. Here he applied himself too closely to his work, and it was not long before his friends noticed that there were times when it seemed difficult for him to keep his interest steadily fixed for long periods at a time. For this reason there were several times delays in securing his signature to documents which it was necessary that he should sign officially as Secretary of State.

Mr. Blaine would begin the perusal of the documents, and, becoming quickly fatigued, would give up the effort to master their contents, and thus sometimes several weeks elapsed. Diplomats and others who called on him noticed his inability to steadily concentrate his mind on the subject at hand.

Those who were long in the service and knew

Mr. Blaine when he was fully himself, recognized the change very clearly. The business of diplomacy has been defined to be "putting off until to-morrow," but there was nothing of this character about Mr. Blaine's diplomacy. When the iron was hot he did not let it cool.

Diplomats who had conferences with him he brought right to the point of the matter in hand and frequently scored telling points in his own favor by his keen, intensive way of reaching a speedy conclusion, and then practically compelling the diplomats, accustomed to taking long intervals for consideration, to state their own position at the conference. The change from this course to one of tentativeness and delay was very marked.

The domestic troubles of Mr. Blaine have done not a little to aid his rapid decline. The death of his son, Walker, in 1890 was one of the severest blows of his life. Walker was a young man of great promise, very near to his father's heart and possessing his entire confidence. His sudden death was a severe shock to both his parents, especially to the Secretary of State, who had leaned upon him from the time he took office. Walker gave every reason to believe that with advancing years he would have become widely known in the diplomatic world,

his service in the State Department as Assistant Secretary, as far as it went, having been extremely brilliant.

Not long after Walker's death the family circle was again called upon to mourn the loss of another member, in the person of Mrs. Alice Coppinger, the wife of Major Coppinger, U. S. A. The distress of the father and mother over these bereavements was great in extreme, and the wounds were slow to heal. Not a few who were very near to him expected him to sink under his sorrow. The brave way in which he bore up after his utter breakdown at Walker's funeral, however, gave them much hope, which was increased as the weeks rolled by and he still remained at his post.

Spring lapsed into summer, the autumn followed with no evidence of weakening on his part. Then came the trying wintry weather. There were those who claimed that the Secretary was not so well, but he kept on his daily routine.

All at once the New Orleans murder of the Italians startled every one, no one more than the Secretary of State. He was wide awake to the full gravity of the case, and he gave every phase of it the closest attention. The correspondence between the Italian Government and our own was

carried on for us by Mr. Blaine. His letters to the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs evoked universal applause on this side the ocean, while in England, as well as on some parts of the Continent, it was admitted that the American wore the laurels of the controversy.

But before the case was finally settled the head of the State Department was seized with an illness which proved very serious. At the time of the first attack Mr. Blaine was visiting at the house of his daughter, Mrs. Walter Damrosch, in New York city. In the beginning his trouble was made light of. It was reported that there was nothing really the matter with him, and that it was purely a case of overwork, which would right itself as soon as the strain was off.

But the matter did not right itself. Mr. Blaine was a very sick man, and after awhile all notion of his return to Washington until he was quite restored—able, in fact, to go back to his duties—was reluctantly abandoned. He was taken to Bar Harbor as soon as it was practicable. From there conflicting statements regarding his condition were sent out. It was said that he had Bright's disease; that he was afflicted with diabetes; that he was suffering from partial paralysis; his physical

appearance was understood to be indicative of great weakness; his vitality was very low.

As the summer waned the reports indicated a slow recovery. Then in the early autumn it was authoritatively put forth that in October he would return to his post at Washington. This in the end proved to be true, for on October 23 he appeared at the Capital and the day following at his office and resumed his labors. He was still far from being a well man, but he stuck to his post.

Mr. Blaine had not been a member of President Harrison's Cabinet for a month before his name began to be used in connection with the Republican nomination for the Presidency in 1892. The ball rolled on, increasing in size and momentum with the passing seasons. After the victory of his reciprocity scheme his Presidential boom was more popular than ever.

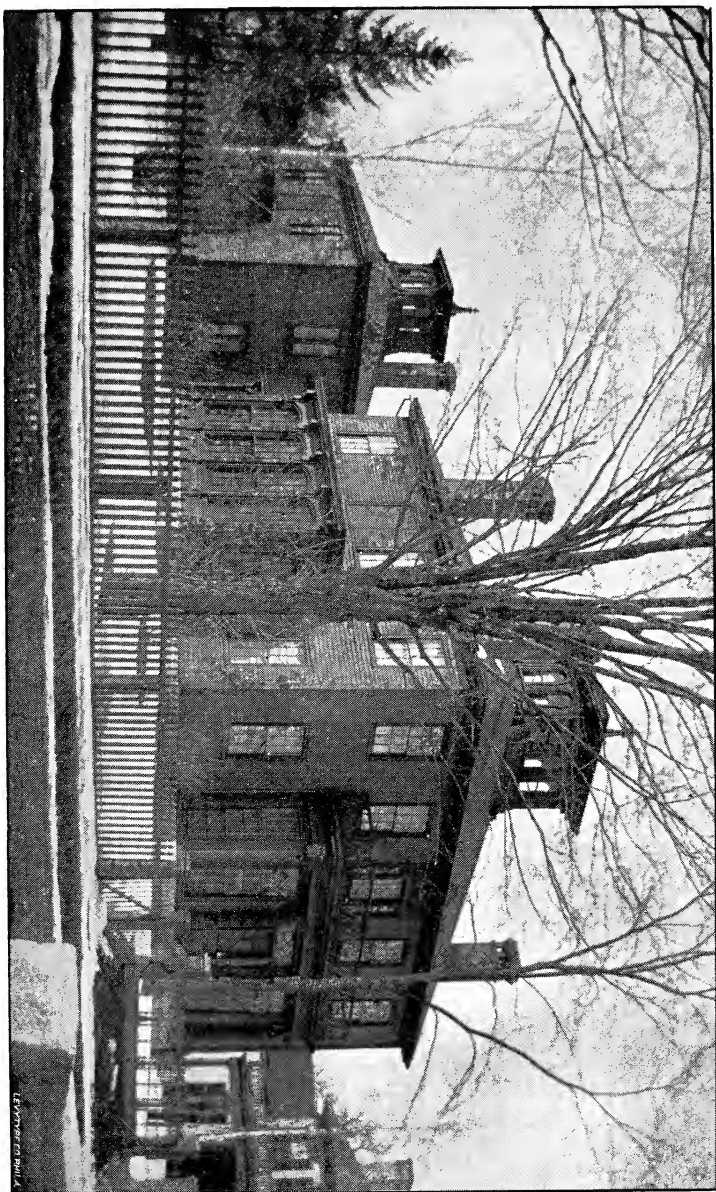
President Harrison's friends were so disturbed by this sort of thing that some of them went so far as to claim reciprocity for him. Discussion was provoked and more or less ill feeling was exhibited. The state of the Premier's health was lugged into the dispute. It was asserted that he was a dying man—a statement warmly resented. Mr. Blaine himself became excited on the subject.

A newspaper correspondent says of him in regard to this matter that one day while reading a journal which gave a gloomy view of the outlook for the Secretary's recovery:

"This is outrageous, infamous," he exclaimed, and began striding up and down the piazza, forgetful of his shawl, and planting his feet with a vigor which he had not shown for weeks. There was a slight flush on his unusually pallid cheeks. "It's enough to make a man ashamed of his country," he continued bitterly, and in anger. "I can stand being attacked by my enemies; I've got used to that long ago, but here is a paper," pointing to the crumpled sheet, "which I have befriended playing the role of Judas, and printing columns about me which it knows to be malicious lies designed to get me out of the way, and there are other traitors of the same kind on the pile there—false friends who would stab me in the back. Oh, I know them; I'll remember, and I swear to God I won't die now just to spite them."

During his illness another correspondent, who spent some time near him, wrote:

"Perhaps the most conspicuous evidence of his declining days is the increasing silver whiteness of his hair. However, he exercises the intensest care



BLAINE'S RESIDENCE, AUGUSTA, MAINE.



in respect to his health. He does not trust himself out in the night air in any circumstance. He does not smoke (I doubt whether he has smoked at all in recent years;) he is more than moderate in the use of wines, and even restricts himself as to his diet.

It may be cited as an evidence of his carefulness that when there is an occasion for having his hair trimmed, he does not go to the barber shop lest he should catch cold when he ventured into the open air after the operation, but the barber is sent for and trims the statesman's capillary adornment in the security of his own room, and it is always done at night, shortly before the time for retiring, in order to further obviate the risk of catching cold.

Blaine has recently developed a kind of morbid timidity as to death. At the approach of the most insignificant cold, or other slight physical derangement, the house physician, Dr. Brickett, is summoned, and further instructed to call two or three times a day until all uneasiness has been dispelled. And should Dr. Brickett not succeed in completely assuring his patient, Dr. Allen, the most prominent physician in the State, is also sent for."

Mr. Blaine's last appearance in a public capacity in the Capitol was made before the Commerce

Committee of the Senate during the last season. His powers of mind and body had been failing then, and the fact had been remarked by some of his friends, but on this occasion he seemed to feel the life and fire of youth, and his address to the committee was characterized by the clearness of thought, penetration, energy, and vigor of the Blaine of old. The subject before the committee was a bill to grant a French company authority to lay a cable from the United States to San Domingo.

The Government of Brazil had given to this company the monopoly of the right to lay a cable through Brazilian territory, to the West Indies where it was to connect with a cable from France. Attached to the Brazilian grant was a condition that the cable company should secure cable connections with the United States, Brazil being anxious to have direct communication with this country. In order to comply with this condition a new and auxiliary corporation to the original French company was organized. It came to the Government of the United States for permission to lay a cable from Charleston or Port Royal, to San Domingo, where it was to connect with the cable from Brazil. Mr. Blaine, as Secretary of State, declined, in the name of the President, to grant the privilege re-

quested unless the company would agree to waive its monopoly rights in Brazil in favor of any American Company which might wish to lay a cable.

The company claimed that it was impossible to agree to such a thing; that it only wanted to lay a cable to San Domingo, and had no control over the other company, whose line ran to Brazil. Mr. Blaine considered this to be a subterfuge, and insisted that no cable should be laid until the Brazilian Government should grant permission to any cable company, the same rights as were accorded the French company. An attempt was then made to get from Congress what Mr. Blaine had denied, and a bill granting the necessary permission to lay a cable in territory of the United States was introduced. When the bill came up for a hearing before the Committee on Commerce, of which Senator Frye is chairman, Mr. Jeff Chandler appeared in behalf of the company. Mr. Blaine replied, and astounded the committee by the animation he displayed. He carried his point, and by an unanimous vote the committee coincided with the position taken by Mr. Blaine.

Then came his resignation from Mr. Harrison's Cabinet, the Republican Convention and the hot discussions about his health. Knowing now what

his condition really was, the strain must have been terrible.

In the minds of men who knew James G. Blaine well there is no doubt that he was well aware of the fact that he was a dying man when he was in New York city last October. He was confronting the maddening truth that he had but a few months to live all the time that the managers of the Republican campaign were frantically appealing to him to ride into the political battle like the Plumed Knight of former campaigns, and save them from defeat. Mr. Blaine went to Ophir Farm, the country-seat of Whitelaw Read, on Thursday, October 13. He had spent the summer at Bar Harbor, where he had an attack of illness which kept him in bed for several weeks. Intimate friends of the Blaines say that Mrs. Blaine had become convinced that her husband was on a rapid decline, which could never be checked, but never dared tell him the truth. It was known to the friends of President Harrison, possibly to Whitelaw Reid and his friends, and also to the men who were arrayed against Harrison in his efforts to a second term.

“The men who tried to nominate Blaine knew on excellent medical authority that he could not

live until March 4," said an intimate acquaintance of the ex-Secretary of State yesterday. "It was as cruel a thing as was ever done in politics."

A man who urged Blaine for the nomination at Minneapolis, when this was repeated to him, said:

"That is not true. We all thought Blaine was good for many years. But when he came to New York the campaign managers saw the hand of death upon his brow, but so selfish were they that they at once began to harass the dying man, whose thoughts were of his Maker rather than of politics, to take the stump." As said above, Mr. Blaine believed himself a dying man, and he made the stop in New York on his way from Maine to Washington chiefly for the purpose of learning the truth. The first news of his coming was written by Mrs. Blaine to Mrs. Whitelaw Reid. In her letter Mrs. Blaine said that her husband would come on alone and that she would follow a few days thereafter. Mr. Reid and his friends felt greatly elated at this. If Mr. Blaine was able to travel alone his health, they thought, must be better.

Mr. Blaine came and he presented a picture of physical decay which shocked them. The contrast between his condition then and what it was when he had been in this city in May was painful.

The man was so "run down" that when he left the train at the Grand Central Station his voice was tremulous with the mere exertion of descending the steps of the car. Domestic affliction and bodily ills had done their work. When Mr. Blaine made his short speech to the serenaders at Ophir Farm the second day of his stay there, his voice was weak and indistinct, and although he had prepared his speech in advance he lost the thread of his talk several times, and the short-hand report had to be liberally "edited" to make it coherent. This, at the time, was charitably blamed on the stenographer.

Mr. Blaine came into the city on the following Monday, October 17, and went to the Fifth avenue Hotel. Here he saw his daughter, Mrs. Damrosch, and that afternoon went driving. It was then, Mr. Blaine's friends say, that he learned the awful truth about his condition. Dr. A. L. Loomis, of No. 19 West Thirty-fourth street, who was hastily summoned to Washington on Sunday for consultation, said yesterday that he never saw Mr. Blaine until we went to the National Capital. It was currently reported and generally believed at the time Mr. Blaine took his drive that Monday afternoon, that he went to see Dr. Loomis. Whoever the

doctor was, Mr. Blaine came back to the hotel convinced that the fears which had assailed his mind for many months that he was a doomed man were not idle fancies. He was joined by his wife a few days later.

The efforts to get Mr. Blaine to take the stump were redoubled, but during it all the afflicted statesman gave no impression that he knew his actual condition. A few days before a meeting had been held at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, at which Mr. Blaine was the chief topic of conversation. Those present were: Secretary of the Treasury Foster, Secretary of State Foster, Secretary of the Navy Tracy, Secretary of War Elkins, Secretary of Agriculture Rusk, Chairman Carter, Secretary McComas, and Messrs. Manley, Clarkson and Kerens, of the Republican National Committee. This meeting lasted until midnight, and various plans were discussed to induce Mr. Blaine to speak.

The first proposition was to have him make a number of speeches in this State. No matter how short the speeches were, it was argued they would overcome the anti-Harrison "apathy." Mr. Manley, it is understood, frankly told the other managers that he doubted Mr. Blaine's ability to

speaking even once in the presence of a large and cheering audience.

Another man who had seen Mr. Blaine said that his appearance had become so painfully that of a hopelessly ill man that he doubted the wisdom of even showing Mr. Blaine to any great extent during the campaign.

Let us pause here to admire the pluck and endurance of the man, and wonder what he has done to bring upon himself such woe, public and private. The question is beyond us. We can only bend our heads, and contemplate the finishing touches of an inexorable fate.

It was almost immediately after the Minneapolis convention, with its humiliations and defeat, that misfortune laid a heavy hand upon Mr. Blaine when it deprived him of Emmons Blaine, his favorite son. Walker Blaine had died at a time when he had become almost indispensable to his father, and in the course of time his place had come to be taken by Emmons, who shared the confidences of his father, and was his hope for the perpetuation of his name and fame. Emmons had married Miss McCormick, daughter of the millionaire agricultural implement-maker of Chicago, and had an interesting family. The Emmons-Blaines

used to spend the summer at Bar Harbor, near the paternal residence, and the presence of his son and grandchildren, with their mother, was a source of great comfort to James G. Blaine. Add to this the disgrace of his youngest and last son and what can the verdict be but death. J. Edward Simmons said:

“The death a year or two ago of Mr. Blaine’s brilliant son, who was his companion and adviser, followed by his own failure to get the nomination for President at the Minneapolis convention; the sudden and untimely taking off of his second son; the pain and humiliation brought upon the family by recent domestic complications, all of these overwhelming misfortunes combined broke down the proud spirit of the ambitious statesman. I am convinced that a correct diagnosis of the cause of death would be ‘a broken heart.’”

Few, outside of his immediate friends, really had any idea of his real condition until a few weeks past when it was officially announced that the end was very near; since then he has simply lived from hour to hour until death finally ended the terrible struggle a little before noon January 27, 1893.

The end was a peaceful one; the doctors say he

sank to his last rest like a tired child in its mother's arms. In fact the anxious watchers at his bedside knew not when the end had come.

The first warning that the end was at hand came at nine o'clock, when Mr. Blaine suffered a totally unexpected relapse. Both of the physicians who had been constantly in attendance upon him were hastily summoned. Dr. Johnston was the first to arrive, Dr. Hyatt following a few minutes later. They did all that could be done for the dying man, but soon realized that Mr. Blaine was beyond human aid.

It was at half-past ten that the family were summoned, and Dr. Johnston, as gently as he could, informed them that the end was close at hand.

Then the family entered the sick chamber, and waited for death to come. Mrs. Blaine had been with the sufferer all the morning. In fact to her devotion and constant attention is largely due Mr. Blaine's great battle for life. When he died, there were present at his bedside his wife, his two daughters, Mrs. Walter Damrosch, and Miss Harriet Blaine, Mr. James G. Blaine, Jr., Mr. Walter Damrosch and Miss Abigail Dodge.

From the time the family gathered about the bedside of the dying statesman until his spirit had

departed no word was spoken. Now and then the doctors or the professional nurse would move about, seeking to ease the sufferer as best they could.

Mrs. Blaine sat by the head of the bed, holding one wasted hand of the sufferer and smoothing back his hair. His two daughters knelt at either side of the bed, weeping silently, their heads buried in their hands.

That the end had been so long expected robbed it of none of its horrors. During the last half hour of Mr. Blaine's life it was simply a weary waiting for the departing spirit to take its flight.

Dr. Johnston at eleven o'clock felt the patient's pulse, then bent down in the vain hope of hearing some faint echo of life. Then he knew the end had come. Without a word he placed the suffering hands across his chest, and, motioning to Dr. Hyatt, quietly left the room.

A few moments later the physicians left the house. Walking up to the newspaper men who were in waiting, Dr. Johnston said: "Gentlemen, Mr. Blaine is dead."

Mr. Blaine had been critically ill for months and there was no hope of his recovery. Notwithstanding this fact the news of his death came suddenly

and almost unexpectedly. For several days he had been somewhat better, and before night it was confidently expected that he would live for many days. The return of pleasant weather, it was thought by the physicians, would materially aid Mr. Blaine. He had passed a tolerably good night and reports given out early in the morning were of a hopeful character.

Mr. Blaine's vitality was so great, his mind so active and his spirit so high, that the members of his family hoped that death could be averted for many years. This hopeful spirit was manifested all through the time when Mr. Blaine succumbed to the slightest shock. Cold settled in his throat and chest frequently, and on every occasion he was forced to either take to his bed or suspend his daily pursuits. The repetition of these attacks finally resulted in a species of nervous depression, and toward the last Mr. Blaine became a hypochondriac.

Despite this fear, that every weak spell would be his last, his spirit and ambition never left him.

His fight for life during the past six weeks is regarded in local medical circles as one of the most remarkable examples of physical endurance to be found in the records of medical science.

All the doctors could do was to keep life in the frame as long as possible. Time and time again death had appeared inevitable, but the use of heroic remedies was, until the last, able to postpone the inevitable for a time.

The local physicians, Drs. Johnston and Hyatt, had been most constant in their attendance at the bedside of the sick man. Professional nurses and the members of the family had exhausted every means at their command to ease the weary hours.

Even at nine o'clock a hope was entertained that Mr. Blaine might be pulled through the relapse. Nitro-glycerine was administered, but not with the usual result of easing the pressure upon the heart and restoring comparative calm to his throbbing nerves. His pulse became intermittent. For a time it would beat furiously; then stop altogether for several moments. Then œdema of the lungs set in. Mucous secretions began to fill the air spaces. The breathing became labored and finally stertorous. Mr. Blaine was at this point unable to move. He seemed conscious that the end was rapidly drawing near. The expression of the face, the twitching of the facial muscles were evidence that he was conscious. The doctors say that the lamp of his life and the light of intellect were extinguished simultaneously.

A remarkable feature of Mr. Blaine's entire illness, the physicians say, lies in the fact that his brain was at all times clear. Physical exhaustion frequently intervened, and reduced him to a semi-comatose condition; but at no time, it is believed, did his brain wander.

In the latter state of illness with which Mr. Blaine suffered softening of the brain is not an uncommon symptom. This case is said to have been an exception. To the last he retained his mental penetration. At times he was keenly alive to his condition and surroundings, and at other times dimly conscious; but no mental delusions and no wanderings of the mind were ever noticed.

The following is the official statement of the attending physicians as to the cause of death:

"The beginning of Mr. Blaine's illness dates back some years. The earliest signs of ill health were associated with, and, no doubt, due to a gouty tendency, which manifested itself in sub-acute attacks of gout, disturbances of digestion and progressive innutrition and anæmia.

"Subsequent events prove that at this time changes were going on in the arteries of the body which resulted later in symptoms of obliteration of vessels and in chronic disease of the kidneys. The

attack of paralysis in 1887 was connected with similar alterations in the blood vessels of the brain.

During the summer of 1892 the evidences of failing health were more decided, and in November, after his return to Washington, his symptoms suddenly assumed an aggravated form. From this time, although there were periods of apparent improvement, he continued to grow worse from week to week. The symptoms were at first more directly connected with the kidneys, and examinations of the urine showed that there was a progressive interstitial change going on in that organ, and that he had a form of chronic Bright's disease.

"In December signs of lung complication appeared, which were no doubt connected with the general disease, but as tubercle bacilli were found in the sputa, it is probable that there was some tubercular infection as well. Much of the distress which Mr. Blaine suffered was associated with this disease of the lungs, and his death was certainly hastened by it.

"Toward the end of December the heart began to show signs of unusual weakness from cardiac degeneration and dilation, and on December eighteen he had an alarming attack of heart ex-

haustion. From this he rallied, but others of the same nature occurred on several occasions.

“From the middle of January these attacks ceased, and the action of the heart was more uniformly good. There was, however, a daily loss of flesh and strength.

“For three days before Mr. Blaine’s death there was no marked change in his condition. Each day he seemed somewhat more feeble than on the day before, and, on the night before his death, he did not seem to be in any immediate danger. Toward the morning of January 27 his pulse was observed to be very feeble, and his breathing to be more embarrassed. As a result of the failing heart action, œdema of the lungs occurred, and he died without much suffering at 11 o’clock.

“During the whole of Mr. Blaine’s illness the digestion was well performed, and liquid food, chiefly milk, was taken in large quantities. His mind was generally clear, except when clouded by uræmia and disturbed brain circulation, and, although unable to express himself in words, he recognized all the members of his family up to a few moments of his death.

“Doctors Janeway and Loomis, of New York,

were called in consultation, and rendered important service by their advice.

“WILLIAM W. JOHNSTON, M. D.

“FRANK HYATT, M. D.”

This statement of the physicians will not be supplemented by an autopsy upon the body of Mr. Blaine, the members of the family being thoroughly satisfied as to the cause of his death. The body will not be embalmed for burial, the family objecting to any disturbance of it.

The funeral took place in Washington, January 30. Mr. Blaine could not have a private funeral. Every effort was made to comply with his own understood wishes and with the expressed desires of his family in this regard, but the surging wave of public interest swept over the barriers imposed and made his private funeral one of the most impressive of public demonstrations in honor of the dead.

The most eminent men stood around his bier. All business in the nation's capital was suspended during the period when the funeral services were in progress. The presence of President and Cabinet and Supreme Judges and high officials of Congress, and of the Diplomatic Corps, was not more significant than the homage of the waiting crowds, who in respectful silence line the streets through which the funeral cortege passed.

The parlor on the second floor where the body lay in its cedar casket, closely sealed, was fairly embowered with floral tributes. The casket itself rested on a huge bed of roses, violets, palm leaves and ferns sent by Mrs. Emmons Blaine, about nine feet long by four feet wide, the flowers artistically giving the combination of colors and design of an oriental rug.

The ceremonies inside the house were grand in their simplicity. Before the hour of ten the invited guests began to arrive and take their seats in the fragrant and floral bedecked front parlor of the mansion. There were no chairs reserved except for the President and for the immediate family of the deceased.

Eleven o'clock was the hour named for the simple service of prayer which was to precede the removal of the body to the church for more public rites.

It was only a few minutes after that hour when the mourners entered and the President and all the distinguished concourse rose to pay fitting honor and sympathy to the sorrow of the deceased statesman's relatives. The family was followed by the Rev. Dr. Hamlin, of the Church of the Covenant, who standing beside the casket, in a low tone

delivered the Presbyterian prayer for the departed soul. As he did so, Mr. Walter Damrosch touched the keys of the piano to a slow dirge, and the scene was an impressive one.

Dr. Hamlin returned thanks to God that by His power this life was ended only that the life of immortality might be begun. He beseeched the Almighty that comfort might come to every member of the stricken household, because the one who had gone out of this life had gone to immortality. Let the consolation that came from above fall tenderly and sweetly upon them. "Speak to them words of comfort such as Thou alone can teach. This we ask in the name of our Saviour. Amen."

This completed the brief and impressive services, and the casket was closed and tenderly borne to the hearse. Solemnly and in silence the family and the mourning guests left the house which has been so frequently invaded by the angel of death, and the sad procession wended its way slowly to the church. It was then noted that Mrs. Blaine was not among the mourners, as had been supposed. Among so many deeply veiled figures her form had not heretofore been missed, but it was now whispered, that overcome by grief she had remained at the house.

Prior to the starting of the funeral procession from Lafayette Square, Mrs. Blaine had requested to be left alone for a few minutes with her honored dead. The parlor had been cleared for this purpose, and, when Mrs. Blaine emerged, after from five to ten minutes' silent communion with her grief, she made her way, supported on the arms of her son and daughter, Miss Hattie, to the room where her husband had died, and there gave way to her grief in utter prostration.

Mrs. Hale and other sympathizing friends followed her to the death chamber, but their friendly ministrations were of no avail, and Mrs. Blaine was compelled to remain behind. The services at the church, admission to which was had only by card, were very impressive.

At Oak Hill Cemetery the services were as simple as they had been in the house and in the church. Dr. Hamlin read the burial service of the Presbyterian Church, and this was followed by an extemporaneous prayer. Then came the benediction, and all that was mortal of James Gillespie Blaine was consigned to earth.

The opening prayer of the chaplain of the House on that fatal morning voices the feelings of the nation:

“O, eternal God, we stand before Thee profoundly moved as the news comes to the Capitol, and flies through the land, that a great man and a prince among the people has ended his earthly career. Rich with the manifold gifts which Thou hast endowed, tireless in energy, devoting himself for a generation to the service of the land, holding men to him by bonds stronger than steel, winning for himself the hearty affection and confidence of millions of his fellow-citizens, such a place as has rarely been held by any man, he passes from us, mourned, honored, loved—his memory a fragrance in this House, and throughout the Capital, and throughout the nation.”

Extracts from his Addresses.

During his earlier years in the House of Representatives Mr. Blaine made few elaborate addresses. During his first term his only extended speech was an argument in favor of the assumption of the State war debts by the general government, and in demonstration of the ability of the North to carry the war to a successful conclusion.

CAN THE COUNTRY SUSTAIN THE EXPENSE OF THE WAR AND PAY THE DEBT WHICH IT WILL INVOLVE?

[Speech delivered by Mr. Blaine in the House of Representatives of the United States, April 21, 1864.]

MR. SPEAKER—The question of most engrossing interest to the loyal people of the United States to-day is whether we are able to furnish the means of carrying on the war, and to sustain the load of debt which the close of hostilities will leave upon us. I propose to show by some simple facts and

figures that we are abundantly equal to the great trial, and that in bearing it we are assuming far less responsibility, in proportion to wealth, population and prospective development than has been successfully assumed in the past by another great nation, and even by ourselves at the organization of the Government.

In estimating the debt with which we are to be encumbered, it is not wise, in my judgment, to adopt a too sanguine anticipation of the speedy close of the war. Many gentlemen, whose opinions the public are accustomed to respect, predict the entire suppression of the rebellion within the ensuing summer. For myself I cannot indulge in so pleasing a prospect. Whatever false reckonings we may have made in the past in regard to the shortness of the war, I have latterly been of those who believe that the leading conspirators of the South intend at all events to prolong the struggle until the approaching contest for the Presidency is ended. They have a hope—baseless enough it seems to us—that in some way they are to be benefited by the result of that election, and hence they will hold out until it is decided, with a view, indeed, of affecting its decision. Let us not then deceive ourselves with regard to the speedy reduc-

tion of the enormous expenditures to which we are now subjected. It is wiser for us to look soberly at facts as they are, and not beguile ourselves with rose-colored views of facts as we wish they might be. Let us make our calculations in regard to the national debt, therefore, on the assumption that the war will last until July, 1865, instead of closing in July, 1864, as has been so confidently assumed by many. Should it come to a termination earlier, our error will be the happiest feature in our entire calculation.

Heretofore the estimates of the Secretary of the Treasury in regard to the amount of the national debt at any given period have proved surprisingly accurate. The safest feature of his estimates is seen in the fact that he has in no instance understated the prospective amount of indebtedness, as actually ascertained when we reached the date to which the estimate was made. For instance, in December, 1862, Mr. Chase stated that the debt, July 1, 1863, would be \$1,122,297,403.24. When the time arrived, the debt amounted to \$1,098,793,181.37, or some twenty-four millions less than the Secretary had estimated. With fuller data for reckoning than when he made the calculation just referred to, the Secretary now estimates that if the

war shall continue so long, at its current rate of cost, our debt in July, 1865, will reach the large sum of \$2,231,935,190.37. To this vast amount let us add \$150,000,000 to be incurred by refunding to the loyal States their war expenses, and \$150,000,000 more to cover unforeseen expenses in closing up the great contest, and you will have a grand total of *twenty-five hundred millions of dollars*, the annual interest and ultimate redemption of which must be provided for by the nation. Besides contracting this enormous debt, we shall have expended all the current receipts of the Treasury in conducting the war, amounting in the aggregate, for the four years, to more than five hundred million, making thus a gross outlay of over three thousand millions as the cost of subduing the rebellion—an expenditure of *two millions* per day from the inception to the close of the contest.

Let us see how, by the experience of our own country in a former generation, as well as by the experience of another great people, we may hope to meet this burden with confidence and courage—bearing it without oppression when it is heaviest, and coming in good season to its total discharge, or by attainment of superior strength making it so light as to be practically disregarded.

At the organization of our Government in 1789, the entire population, free and slave, was under four million, scattered along the seaboard from the St. Croix to the St. Mary's, not fifty thousand in all living one hundred miles distant from the flow of the Atlantic tide. Facilities for intercommunication were greatly restricted, manufactures and the arts were in feeble infancy, agriculture was rude and not highly remunerative, because commerce, its handmaid, was languishing and waiting to be quickened to enterprise and vigor. The entire valuation of the thirteen States, according to the weight of authority, did not exceed six hundred millions of dollars—three hundred millions less than the valuation of Massachusetts to-day, and not one-half so great as that of Pennsylvania. Property at that time was ill adapted to bear taxation, profits were small, and to the political economist, measuring the condition and capacity of the country, it seemed utterly unable to carry a debt of any considerable magnitude. And yet our ancestors did not hesitate to assume the burden of ninety millions of dollars—more than one-seventh of all the property they owned. Mr. Jefferson, who was the most distrustful of all the statesmen of that day in regard to the ability of the nation to sustain the

load, was yet willing to say that it could be easily borne if our annual increase of property could maintain an average of *five per cent.*—then the most sanguine estimate which any one dared to place on the future growth of the country. Had we realized only the ratio of increase assumed by Mr. Jefferson, our wealth in 1860 would have been twenty-seven hundred millions instead of sixteen thousand millions. Upon Mr. Jefferson's assumed basis of increase, the debt would never have been oppressive; but with the rate of growth actually realized, the country paid the interest on the debt and accumulated a fund for its redemption with such ease that the people never felt they were taxed. I hope to show that our debt at the close of this war will be relatively lighter than the debt which our revolutionary fathers thus assumed, and proceeded so early and so easily to discharge.

Look also at the case of Great Britain. At the close of her prolonged struggle with Napoleon in 1815, the national debt of that kingdom amounted to £861,000,000 sterling, or *forty-three hundred millions of dollars*; and for readier comparison I shall speak of her debt in dollars rather than in pounds. Her entire population at that time was less than twenty millions, and the valuation of her

property for purposes of taxation was about nine thousand five hundred millions of dollars. She owed, indeed, nearly half of all she possessed. Her population was less than two-thirds of what ours is to-day. Her entire property was not three-fifths of what ours was according to the census of 1860, while her debt was *eighteen hundred millions of dollars* greater than ours will be in July, 1865. In contracting this debt she was compelled to sell her bonds at the most enormous sacrifice. From 1792 to 1815 her debt was increased three thousand millions of dollars; yet in exchange for this amount of bonds she received in money but \$1,730,000,000, thus submitting to a discount of \$1,270,000,000. In other words, England, during the twenty-three years of Continental war, only realized on an average for the whole period, \$100 in money in exchange for \$173 of her bonds. This, be it remembered, was the average for the whole time. As the contest waxed desperate, her sacrifices became desperate in proportion, and the money which enabled her to fight the decisive campaign of Waterloo was obtained by selling her bonds to the European bankers at less than fifty cents on the dollar. Compared with this our sacrifices on the national securities have thus far been light, not averaging, from

the inception of the war to the present day, with all elements of expenditure fairly estimated, more than from twenty to twenty-five per cent, reckoning on the gold basis.

To meet their enormous debt, the British people had nothing but the commercial and industrial resources of the United Kingdom, whose whole area is not double that of the single State of Missouri. They had a population of but twenty millions, as already stated, subject to no increase from immigration, and growing in half a century no more than we have grown during the last decade. Yet, on this restricted area, the enterprise and energy of the British people have increased their property, until it is valued at *thirty-three thousand millions of dollars*; and in defiance of the large expenditure resulting from several costly wars since 1815, they have actually reduced their debt some three hundred millions of dollars. Their steady progress in wealth under their large debt is comprehended in the statement that the average property *per capita* in 1815 was less than five hundred dollars, and in 1861 was about eleven hundred dollars. In 1815 some twenty-five per centum of all the earnings and income of the people was absorbed in taxation, and in 1861 less

than ten per centum was taken for the same object. In 1815 the proportion of taxes per head for the whole people exceeded seventeen dollars, and in 1861 it had fallen below ten dollars.

These brief details of British experience show how a great debt, without being absolutely reduced to any considerable extent, becomes relatively lighter by the increased capacity to bear it. The wealth *per capita* of the entire population in a period of forty-six years has more than doubled; the aggregate property of the realm has more than trebled; and all this on a fixed area of one hundred and twenty thousand square miles, and with a population increasing at the slow rate of only one per cent per annum. If such results can be wrought out by a kindred people against such obstacles and hinderances, what may we not hope to accomplish under the auspicious circumstances of our own Nation!

In the light of the national experiences we have been glancing at, we may clearly read our own great future. It is not, indeed, a matter of surmise or speculative inquiry, but of well-founded and confident calculation—a calculation whose only error will be in falling short of results actually to be realized. The war closing in July, 1865, will leave



HOUSE IN WHICH ELAINE DIED, WASHINGTON, D. C.



us in this condition; a nation numbering some thirty-three millions of people, owning over sixteen thousand millions of property, and carrying a debt of twenty-five hundred millions of dollars. The proportion between debt and property will be just about the same that it was when the Union was formed, while the ratio of our advance and the largely enhanced productiveness of agricultural, manufacturing and commercial pursuits gives the present generation an advantage that renders the debt far less burdensome at the very outset. If the Revolutionary debt became in a very brief period so light as to be unnoticed, why may we not, with a vastly accelerated ratio of progress, assume a similar auspicious result with regard to the debt we are now contracting? Were our future advance in wealth and population to be no more rapid than Great Britain's has been since 1815, we should at the close of the present century have a population of forty-five million souls, and a property amounting to fifty thousand millions of dollars. Even upon this ratio of progress our entire debt would cease to be felt as a burden. But upon the increase of population and development of wealth to be so confidently anticipated, the debt would be so small, in comparison with the total resources of the nation, as to become absolutely inconsiderable.

* * * * *

All that I have said has been based on the supposition of the debt remaining at a fixed sum, the country simply paying the interest. As a matter of fact, however, it is perfectly obvious that in the progress and prosperity of the future, one of our first acts will be to provide for the gradual but absolute redemption of the principal. That this will be consummated without oppressively adding to the annual burden of taxes may be inferred with certainty from a slight examination of our capacity to make increased payments proportioned to our increased amount of consolidated wealth. The time of redemption will depend wholly on the will of the tax-payers, but it is evident that the condition of the country may justify its being done as rapidly as Mr. Hamilton proposed to redeem the debt which he funded in 1790. The period assigned by him was thirty-five years, and so well based were his calculations, that the entire debt, augmented largely and unexpectedly as it was by the war of 1812, was paid in forty-four years from the date of funding; and in 1834 the United States found itself owing but thirty-seven thousand dollars.

To those who may be disposed to doubt the

future progress of our country according the ratio assumed, a few familiar considerations in respect to our resources may be recalled with advantage. We occupy a territory at least three million square miles in extent, within a fraction as large as the whole of Europe. Our habitable and cultivable area is, indeed, larger than that of all Europe, to say nothing of the superior fertility and general productiveness of our soil. So vast is our extent, that, though we may glibly repeat its numerical measure, we find it most difficult to form any just conception of it. The State of Texas alone is equal in area to the Empire of France and the Kingdom of Portugal united; and yet these two monarchies support a population of forty millions, while Texas has but six hundred thousand inhabitants. Or, if we wish for a comparative measure nearer home, let me state that the area of Texas is greater than that of the six New England States, together with New York and New Jersey and Pennsylvania and Ohio and Indiana combined. California, the second State in size, is equal in extent to the Kingdom of Spain and the Kingdom of Belgium together. The land that is still in the hands of Government, not sold or even pre-empted, amounts to a thousand millions of acres—an extent

of territory thirteen times as large as Great Britain, and equal in area to all the kingdoms of Europe, Russia and Turkey alone excepted. Mere territorial extent does not of course imply future greatness, though it is one requisite to it. In our case it is so vast an element that we may be pardoned for dwelling on it with emphasis and iteration.

Combined with this great expanse of territory we have facilities for the acquisition and consolidation of wealth—varied, magnificent, and immeasurable. Our agricultural resources, bounteous beyond estimate, are, by the application of mechanical skill and labor-saving machinery, receiving a development each decade, which a century in the past would have failed to secure, and which a century in the future will place beyond all present power of computation—giving us so far the lead in the production of those staple articles essential to life and civilization that we become the arbiter of the world's destiny without aiming at the world's empire. The single State of Illinois, cultivated to its capacity, can produce as large a crop of cereals as has ever been grown within the limits of the United States; while Texas, if peopled but half as densely as Maryland even, could give an annual return of cotton larger than the largest that has

ever been grown in all the Southern States combined. Our facilities for commerce and exchange, both domestic and foreign—who shall measure them? Our oceans, our vast inland seas, our marvelous flow of navigable streams, our canals, our network of railroads more than thirty thousand miles in extend—*these* give us avenues of trade and channels of communication, both natural and artificial, such as no other nation has ever enjoyed, and which tend to the production of wealth with a rapidity not to be measured by any standard of the past. The enormous field for manufacturing industry in all its complex and endless variety—with our raw material, our wonderful motive-power both by water and steam, our healthful climate, our cheap carriage, our home consumption, our foreign demand—foreshadows a traffic whose magnitude and whose profit cannot now be estimated! Our mines of gold and silver and iron and copper and lead and coal, with their untold and unimaginable wealth, spread over millions of acres of territory, in the valley, on the mountain side, along rivers, yielding already a rich harvest, are destined yet to increase a thousand-fold, until their every-day treasures,

“familiar grown,
Shall realize Orient’s fabled wealth.”

These are the great elements of material progress; and they comprehend the entire circle of human enterprise—Agriculture, Commerce, Manufactures, Mining. They assure to us an increase in property and population that will surpass the most sanguine deductions of our census tables, framed as those tables are upon the ratios and relations of our progress in the past. They give into our hands, under the blessing of Almighty God, the power to command our fate as a nation. They hold out to us the grandest future reserved for any people; and, with this promise, they teach us the lesson of patience, and render confidence and fortitude a duty. With such amplitude and affluence of resources, and with such a vast stake at issue, we should be unworthy of our lineage and our inheritance if we for one moment distrusted our ability to maintain ourselves a united people, with “one Country, one Constitution, one Destiny.”

PROTECTION.

AMERICANS HONOR GLADSTONE.

THERE can be no doubt that Mr. Gladstone is the most distinguished representative of the free-trade school of political economists. His addresses in Parliament on his celebrated budget, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, in 1853, were declared by Lord John Russell "to contain the ablest exposition of the true principles of finance ever delivered by an English statesman." His illustrious character, his great ability and his financial experience point to him as the leading defender of free trade applied to the industrial system of Great Britain.

Mr. Gladstone apologizes for his apparent interference with our affairs. He may be assured that apology is superfluous. Americans of all classes hold him in honor. Free-traders will rejoice in so

eminent an advocate, and protectionists, always the representatives of liberality and progress, will be glad to learn his opinions upon a question of such transcendent importance to the past, the present and the future of the Republic.

ENGLAND'S MEAT, OTHER NATION'S POISON.

Perhaps the most remarkable feature in the argument of Mr. Gladstone, as indeed of every English free-trader except John Stuart Mill, is the universality of application which he demands for his theory. In urging its adoption he makes no distinction between countries; he takes no account of geographical position—whether a nation be in the eastern or the western hemisphere, whether it be north or south of the equator; he pays no heed to climate or product, or degree of advancement; none to topography—whether the country be as level as the delta of the Nile, or as mountainous as the Republic of Bolivia; none to pursuits and employments, whether in the agricultural, manufacturing or commercial field; none to the wealth or poverty of a people; none to population, whether it be crowded or sparse; none to area, whether it be as limited as a German principality or as extended as a continental empire. Free trade he believes

advantageous for England; therefore, without the allowance of any modifying condition, great or small, the English economist declares it to be advantageous for the United States, for Brazil, for Australia; in short, for all countries with which England can establish trade relations. It would be difficult, if not impossible, for Mr. Gladstone to find any principle of administration or any measure of finance so exactly fitted to the varying needs of all countries as he assumes the policy of free trade to be. Surely, it is not unfair to maintain that, deducing his results from observation and experience in his own country, he may fall into error and fail to appreciate the financial workings of other countries geographically remote and of vastly greater area.

The American protectionist, let it not be discourteous to urge, is broader in his views than the English free-trader. No intelligent protectionist in the United States pretends that every country would alike realize advantage from the adoption of the protective system. Human government is not a machine, and even machines cannot be so perfectly adjusted as to work with equal effectiveness at all times and under all conditions. Great Britain and the United States certainly resemble one an-

other in more ways than either can be said to resemble any other nation in the world; yet, when we compare the two on the question at issue, the differences are so marked that we almost lose sight of the resemblance. One is an insular monarchy, with class government; the other a continental republic with popular government. One has a large population to the square mile; the other a small population to the square mile. One was old in a rich and complex civilization before the establishment of the other was even foreseen. One had become the wealthiest nation of the world, while the other was yet in the toils and doubts of a frontier life and a primitive civilization. One had extensive manufactures for almost every field of human need, with the civilized world for its market, while the population of the other was still forced to divide its energies between the hard calling of the sea and the still harder calling of a rude and scantily-remunerative agriculture.

The physical differences between the two countries are far more striking than the political and social differences. They are, indeed, almost incalculable. Great Britain is an island less than ninety thousand square miles in extent. It lies in the far north. Its southernmost point is nearly

thirty degrees of latitude above the tropics. Its northernmost point is but nine degrees below the arctic circle. Within its area the exchange of natural products is necessarily limited. Its life depends upon its connection with other countries. Its prosperity rests upon its commerce with the world. On the other hand, a single State of the Union is nearly three times as large as Great Britain. Several other States are each quite equal to it in area. The whole Union is well nigh forty times as large. Alaska excepted, the northernmost point of the Union is sixty miles south of the southernmost point of Great Britain, and the southernmost point of the Union is but little more than a hundred miles from the tropics. Its natural products are more varied, more numerous and of more valuable character than those of all Europe. To quote one of Mr. Gladstone's phrases, we constitute "not so much a country in ourselves, as a world." He tells us that we carry on "the business of domestic exchanges on a scale such as mankind has never seen." Our foreign commerce, very large in itself, is only as one to twenty-five compared to our internal trade. And yet, Mr. Gladstone thinks that a policy which is essential to an island in the northern ocean should

be adopted as the policy of a country which even to his own vision is "a world within itself."

With these fundamental points of difference between the two countries, I assume that varied financial and industrial systems, wrought by the experience of each, would be the natural and logical result. Hence, I do not join issue with Mr. Gladstone on both of his propositions. He defends free trade in Great Britain. He assails protection in the United States. The first proposition I neither deny nor affirm. Were I to assume that protection is in all countries and under all circumstances the wisest policy, I should be guilty of an error similar to that which I think Mr. Gladstone commits. It might be difficult to prove that free trade is not the wisest financial policy for Great Britain. So far from guarding herself against material imported from other countries, her industrial system would wither and die if foreign products were withheld for even a brief period. She is in an especial degree dependent upon the products of other nations. Moreover, she does not feel bound to pay heed to the rate of wages which her labor may receive. That, like the fabrics which her labor creates, must take its chance in the markets of the world.

WHY ENGLAND WAS CONTENT.

On many points and in many respects it was far different with Great Britain a hundred years ago. She did not then feel assured that she could bear the competition of continental nations. She was, therefore, aggressively, even cruelly protective. She manufactured for herself and for her network of colonies reaching around the globe. Into those colonies no other nation could carry anything. There was no scale of duty upon which other nations could enter a colonial port. What the colonies needed outside of British products could be furnished to them only in British ships. This was not protection! It was prohibition, absolute and remorseless, and it was continued even to the day when Mr. Gladstone entered upon his long and splendid career in Parliament. It was not broken, though in some respects it was relaxed, until, in the fulness of time, British energy had carried the wealth and the skill of the kingdom to the point where no competition could be feared.

During the last thirty years of her protective system, and especially during the twenty years from 1826 to 1846, Great Britain increased her material wealth beyond all precedent in the com-

mercial history of the world. Her development of steam power gave to every British workman the arms of Briareus, and the inventive power of her mechanics increased the amount, the variety and the value of her fabrics beyond all anticipation. Every year of that period witnessed the addition of millions upon millions of sterling to the reserve capital of the kingdom; every year witnessed a great addition to the effective machinery whose aggregate power was already the wonder of the world. The onward march of her manufacturing industries, the steady and rapid development of her mercantile marine, absorbed the matchless enterprise and energy of the kingdom. Finally, with a vast capital accumulated, with a low rate of interest established, and with a manufacturing power unequaled, the British merchants were ready to underbid all rivals in seeking for the trade of the world.

At that moment Great Britain had reason to feel supremely content. She found under her own flag, on the shores of every ocean, a host of consumers whom no man might number. She had Canada, Australia and India with open ports and free markets for all her fabrics; and, more than all these combined, she found the United States suddenly

and seriously lowering her tariff and effectively abolishing protection at the very moment England was declaring for free trade. The traffic of the world seemed prospectively in her control. Could this condition of trade have continued, no estimate of the growth of England's wealth would be possible. Practically, it would have had no limit. Could she have retained her control of the markets of the United States as she held it for the four years preceding the outbreak of the Civil War, the American people would have grown commercially dependent upon her in a greater degree than is Canada or Australia to-day.

But England was dealing with an intelligence equal to her own. The American people had, by repeated experience, learned that the periods of depression in home manufactures were those in which England most prospered in her commercial relations with the United States, and that these periods of depression had, with a single exception, easily explained, followed the enactment by Congress of a free-trade tariff, as certainly as effect follows cause. One of the most suggestive experiments of that kind had its origin in the tariff to which I have just referred, passed in 1846 in apparent harmony with England's newly-declared

financial policy. At that moment a southern President (Mr. Polk) and a southern Secretary of the Treasury (Mr. Robert J. Walker) were far more interested in expanding the area of slave territory than in advancing home manufactures, and were especially eager to make commercial exchanges with Europe on the somewhat difficult basis of cotton at high prices and returning fabrics at low prices.

Under ordinary circumstances the free-trade tariff of 1846 would have promptly fallen under public reprobation and been doomed to speedy repeal. But it had a singular history, and for a time was generally acquiesced in, even attaining in many sections a certain degree of popularity. Never did any other tariff meet with so many and so great aids of an adventitious character to sustain it as did this enactment of 1846. Our war with Mexico began just as the duties were lowered, and the consequence was the disbursement of more than one hundred millions of dollars in a way that reached all localities and favorably affected all interests. This was a great sum of money for that period, and for the years 1846, 1847 and 1848 it considerably more than doubled the ordinary outlay of the government. In the

middle of this period the Irish famine occurred and called for an immense export of breadstuffs at high prices. The discovery of gold in California the succeeding year flushed the channels of business as never before, by rapidly enlarging the circulation of coin in all parts of the country. Before this outpouring of gold had ceased, the three great nations of Europe, as precedence was reckoned at that time—England, France and Russia—entered upon the Crimean War. The export of manufactures from England and France was checked; the breadstuffs of Russia were blockaded and could not reach the markets of the world. An extraordinary stimulus was thus given to all forms of trade in the United States. For ten years—1846 to 1856—these adventitious aids came in regular succession and exerted their powerful influence upon the prosperity of the country.

FINANCIAL DISASTER.

The withdrawal or termination of these influences by a treaty of peace in Europe and by the surcease of gold from California, placed the tariff of 1846 where a real test of its merits or its demerits could be made. It was everywhere asked with apprehension and anxiety: Will this free-

trade tariff now develop and sustain the business of the country as firmly and securely as it has been developed and sustained by protection? The answer was made in the ensuing year by a widespread financial panic, which involved the ruin of thousands, including proportionately as many in the South as in the North, leaving the country disordered and distressed in all the avenues of trade. The disastrous results of this tariff upon the permanent industries of the country are described in President Buchanan's well-remembered message, communicated to Congress after the panic: "With unsurpassed plenty in all the elements of national wealth, our manufacturers have suspended, our public works are retarded, our private enterprises of different kinds are abandoned, and thousands of useful laborers are thrown out of employment and reduced to want." This testimony as to the result of a free-trade tariff is all the more forcible from the fact that Mr. Buchanan, as a member of President Polk's Cabinet, had consented to the abandonment of protection, which in his earlier career he had earnestly supported:

If these disasters of 1857, flowing from the free-trade tariff, could have been regarded as excep-

tional, if they had been without parallel or precedent, they might not have had so deadly a significance. But the American people had twice before passed through a similar experience. On the eve of the War of 1812 Congress guarded the national strength by enacting a highly-protective tariff. By its own terms this tariff must end with the war. When the new tariff was to be formed a popular cry arose against "war duties," though the country had prospered under them despite the exhausting effect of the struggle with Great Britain. But the prayer of the people was answered, and the war duties were dropped from the tariff of 1816. The business of the country was speedily prostrated. The people were soon reduced to as great distress as in that melancholy period between the close of the Revolutionary War and the organization of the National Government—1783 to 1789. Colonel Benton's vivid description of the period of depression following the reduction of duties comprises in a few lines a whole chapter of the history of free trade in the United States:

No price for property; no sales except those of the sheriff and the marshal; no purchasers at execution-sales except the creditor or some hoarder of money; no employment for industry; no demand for labor; no sale for the products of the farm; no sound of the hammer except that of the auctioneer knocking down property. Distress was the universal cry of the people; relief the universal demand.

Relief came at last with the enactment of the protective tariff of 1824, to the support of which leading men of both parties patriotically united for the common good. That act, supplemented by the act of 1828, brought genuine prosperity to the country. The credit of passing the two protective acts was not due to one party alone. It was the work of the great men of both parties. Mr. Clay and General Jackson, Mr. Webster and Mr. Van Buren, General William Henry Harrison and Richard M. Johnson, Silas Wright and Louis McLane, voted for one or the other of these acts, and several of them voted for both. The co-operation of these eminent men is a great historic tribute to the necessity and value of protection. Plenty and prosperity followed, as if by magic, the legislation to which they gave their support. We have their concurrent testimony that the seven years preceding the enactment of the protective tariff of 1824 were the most discouraging which the young republic in its brief life had encountered, and that the seven years which followed its enactment were beyond precedent the most prosperous and happy.

Sectional jealousy and partisan zeal could not endure the great development of manufactures in the North and East which followed the apparently

firm establishment of the protective policy. The free-trade leaders of the South believed—at least they persuaded others to believe—that the manufacturing States were prospering at the expense of the planting States. Under the lead of Calhoun South Carolina rebelled, and President Jackson, who had so strikingly shown his faith in the policy of protection, was not able to resist the excitement and resentment which the free-traders had created in the Cotton States. He stood between hostile policies, represented by his two bitterest personal enemies—Clay for protection, Calhoun for free trade. To support Clay would ruin Jackson politically in the South. He could not sustain Calhoun, for, aside from his opposition to free trade, he had cause for hating him personally. He believed, moreover, that Calhoun was at heart untrue to the Union, and to the Union Jackson was as devoted as Clay. Out of this strange complication came, not unnaturally, the sacrifice of the protective tariff of 1824 to 1828 and the substitution of the compromise tariff of 1833, which established an *ad-valorem* duty of 20 per cent. on all imports, and reduced the excess over that by a 10 per cent. annual sliding-scale for the ensuing ten years. Like all compromises, it gave complete satisfaction

to neither party, but it was received with general acquiescence from the belief that it was the best practicable solution of the impending difficulties. The impending difficulties were two. One was the portentous movement which involved the possibility of dissolving the Union. The other was the demand for a free-trade tariff as the only measure that could appease the Southern Nullifiers. Disunion and free trade from that time became associated in the public mind—a source of apprehension in the North, a source of political power in the South. Calhoun was the master spirit who had given the original impulse, both to disunion and free trade. Each in turn strengthened the other in the South, and both perished together in the War of the Rebellion.

For a time satisfaction was felt with the tariff adjustment of 1833, because it was regarded as at least a temporary reconciliation between two sections of the Union. Before the sliding-scale was ruinously advanced, there was great stimulus to manufacturing and to trade, which finally assumed the form of dangerous speculation. The years 1834, 1835 and 1836 were distinguished for all manner of business hazard, and before the fourth year opened, the 30 per-cent reduction (three

years of 10 per cent. each) on the scale of duties was beginning to influence trade unfavorably. The apprehension of evil soon became general, public confidence was shaken, the panic of 1837 ensued, and business reversals were rapid, general and devastating.

The trouble increased through 1838, 1839 and 1840, and the party in power, held responsible for the financial disasters, fell under popular condemnation. Mr. Van Buren was defeated, and the elder General Harrison was elevated to the Presidency by an exceptionally large majority of the electoral votes. There was no relief to the people until the protective tariff of 1842 was enacted; and then the beneficent experience of 1824 was repeated on even a more extensive scale. Prosperity, wide and general, was at once restored. But the reinstatement of the Democratic party to power, two years later, by the election of Mr. Polk to the Presidency, followed by a perverse violation of public pledges on the part of men in important places of administration, led to the repeal of the protective act and the substitution of the tariff of 1846, to which I have already adverted, and whose effects upon the country I have briefly outlined.

Measuring, therefore, from 1812, when a protective tariff was enacted to give strength and stability to the government in the approaching war with Great Britain, to 1861, when a protective tariff was enacted to give strength and stability to the government in the impending revolt of the Southern States, we have fifty years of suggestive experience in the history of the Republic. During this long period free-trade tariffs were thrice followed by industrial stagnation, by financial embarrassment, by distress among all classes dependent for subsistence upon their own labor. Thrice were these burdens removed by the enactment of a protective tariff. Hence the protective tariff promptly led to industrial activity, to financial ease, to prosperity among the people. And this happy condition lasted in each case, with no diminution of its beneficent influence, until illegitimate political combinations, having their origin in personal and sectional aims, precipitated another era of free trade. A perfectly impartial man, unswerved by the excitement which this question engenders in popular discussion, might safely be asked if the half century's experience, with its three trials of both systems, did not establish the wisdom of protection in the United States. If the

inductive method of reasoning may be trusted, we certainly have a logical basis of conclusion in the facts here detailed.

And by what other mode of reasoning can we safely proceed in this field of controversy? The great method of Bacon was by "rigid and pure observation, aided by experiment and fructified by induction." Let us investigate "from effects to causes, and not from causes to effects." Surely it is by a long series of experiments, and by that test only, that any country can establish an industrial system that will best aid in developing its hidden wealth and establishing its permanent prosperity. And each country must act intelligently for itself. Questions of trade can no more be regulated by an exact science than crops can be produced with accurate forecast. The unknown quantities are so many that a problem in trade or agriculture can never have an absolute answer in advance. But Mr. Gladstone, with an apparent confidence in results as unshaken as though he were dealing with the science of numbers, proceeds to demonstrate the advantage of free trade. He is positively certain in advance of the answer which experiment will give, and the inference is that nothing is to be gained by awaiting the experiment. Mr.

Gladstone may argue for Great Britain as he will, but for the United States we must insist on being guided by facts, and not by theories; we must insist on adhering to the teachings of experiments which "have been carried forward by careful generalization to well-grounded conclusions."

VALUE OF PROTECTION DURING THE WAR.

As an offset to the charge that free-trade tariffs have always ended in panics and long periods of financial distress, the advocates of free trade point to the fact that a financial panic of great severity fell upon the country in 1873, when the protective tariff of 1861 was in full force, and that, therefore, panic and distress follow periods of protection as well as periods of free trade. It is true that a financial panic occurred in 1873, and its existence would blunt the force of my argument if there were not an imperatively truthful way of accounting for it as a distinct result from entirely distinct causes. The panic of 1873 was widely different in its true origin from those which I have been exposing. The Civil War, which closed in 1865, had sacrificed on both sides a vast amount of property. Reckoning the money directly expended, the value of property destroyed, and the produc-

tion arrested and prevented, the total is estimated to be nine thousand millions of dollars. The producers of the country had been seriously diminished in number. A half-million men had been killed. A million more had been disabled in various degrees. Help was needed in the honorable form of pensions, and the aggregate required for this purpose exceeded all anticipation and has annually absorbed an immense proportion of the national income. The public debt that must be funded reached nearly three thousand millions, demanding at the beginning more than one hundred and fifty millions of dollars for annual interest. A great proportion of the debt, when funding was complete, was held in Europe, calling for an enormous export of gold, or its equivalent, to meet the interest.

Beside these burdens upon the people, the country was on a basis of paper money, and all gold payments added a heavy premium to the weight of the obligation. The situation was without parallel. The speculative mania which always accompanies war had swollen private obligations to a perilous extent, and the important question arose of restoring coin payment. On the one hand, it was contended that to enforce the measure would create a

panic by the shrinkage of prices which would follow; and on the other hand, it was urged with equal zeal that to postpone it longer would increase the general distrust among the people as to the real condition of the country, and thus add to the severity of the panic if one should be precipitated.

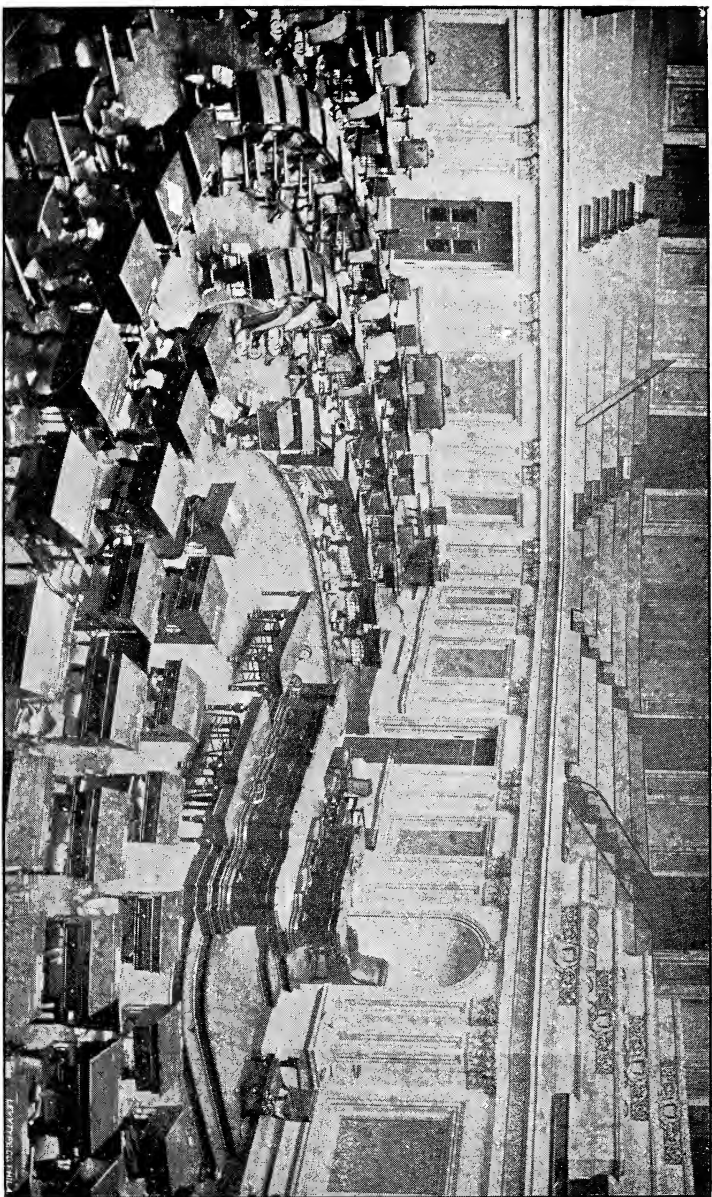
Notwithstanding the evil prophesies on both sides, the panic did not come until eight and a-half years after the firing of the last gun in the Civil War. Nor did it come until after two great calamities in the years immediately preceding had caused the expenditure of more than two hundred millions of dollars, suddenly withdrawn from the ordinary channels of business. The rapid and extensive rebuilding in Chicago and Boston, after the destructive fires of 1871 and 1872, had a closer connection with the panic of 1873 than is commonly thought. Still further, the six years' depression, from 1873 to 1879, involved individual suffering rather than general distress. The country as a whole never advanced in wealth more rapidly than during that period. The entire experience strengthened the belief that the war for the Union could not have been maintained upon a free-trade basis, and that the panic of 1873 only proved the strength of the safeguard which protection supplies to a people

surrounded by such multiform embarrassments as were the people of the United States during the few years immediately following the war. And, strongest of all points, the financial distress was relieved and prosperity restored under protection; whereas, the ruinous effects of panics under free-trade have never been removed except by a resort to protection.

Does Mr. Gladstone maintain that I am confusing *post hoc* with *propter hoc* in these statements? He must show, then, that the United States during the war could have collected a great internal revenue on domestic manufactures and products, when under the system of free trade similar fabrics would daily have reached New York from Europe to be sold at prices far below what the American manufacturer, with the heavy excise then levied, could afford to set upon his goods. And if the government could collect little from the customs under free trade, and nothing from internal products, whence could have been derived the taxes to provide for the payment of interest on public loans, and what would have become of the public credit? Moreover, with free trade, which Mr. Gladstone holds to be always and under all circumstances wiser than protection, we should have been com-

pelled to pay gold coin for European fabrics, while at home and during the tremendous strain of the war, legal-tender paper was the universal currency. In other words, when the life of the country depended upon the government's ability to make its own notes perform the function of money, the free-traders' policy would have demanded daily gold for daily bread.

The free-trader cannot offset the force of the argument by claiming that the laws regulating revenue and trade are, like municipal laws, silent during the shock of arms; because the five closing years—indeed, almost six years—of the decade in which the Rebellion occurred were passed in peace, and during those years the ravages of war were in large degree repaired and new wealth rapidly acquired. But I shall not give to Mr. Gladstone or to the American free-trader the advantage of seeming to rest the defence of protection upon its marvelous value during the exhaustive period of war. Viewing the country from 1861 to 1889—full twenty-eight years—the longest undisturbed period in which either protection or free trade has been tried in this country—I ask Mr. Gladstone if a parallel can be found to the material advancement of the United States.



THE SENATE CHAMBER, WASHINGTON, D. C.



Mr. Gladstone admits the wonderful increase of wealth acquired under a protective tariff, but he avers that the results would have been larger under free-trade. That, of course, is a speculative opinion, and is entitled to respect according to the knowledge and experience of the man who utters it. Every statement of Mr. Gladstone carries weight, but in this case his opinion runs directly counter to the fifty years of financial experience through which this country has passed with alternate trials of the two systems. Moreover, it is fair to say that Mr. Gladstone does not in this utterance represent European judgment. He speaks only for the free-trade party of Great Britain and their followers on this side of the ocean. The most eminent statesman on the continent of Europe holds opinions on this subject directly the reverse of those held by the most eminent statesman of Great Britain. We feel assured in America that so far as the question of protection may be affected, either favorably or adversely, by the weight of individual judgment, we may safely leave Mr. Gladstone to be answered by Prince Bismarck.

But better than the opinion of Mr. Gladstone, better than the opinion of Prince Bismarck, are the simple facts of the case, of open record in both

countries. A brief rehearsal of these facts, with the pertinent comparison which they suggest, will give the best answer to Mr. Gladstone's assumption that the United States would have made more rapid progress under a system of free trade. I take the official figures of the census in the United States, and for the United Kingdom I quote from Mr. Giffen, who is commended by Mr. Gladstone as the best authority in England:

In 1860 the population of the United States was, in round numbers, 31,000,000. At the same time the population of the United Kingdom was, in round numbers, 29,000,000. The wealth of the United States at that time was fourteen thousand millions of dollars; the wealth of the United Kingdom was twenty-nine thousand millions of dollars. The United Kingdom had, therefore, nearly the same population, but more than double the wealth of the United States, with machinery for manufacturing four-fold greater than that of the United States. At the end of twenty years (1880), it appeared that the United States had added nearly thirty thousand millions of dollars to her wealth, while the United Kingdom had added nearly fifteen thousand millions, or about one-half.

During this period of twenty years the United

States had incurred the enormous loss of nine thousand millions of dollars by internal war, while the United Kingdom was at peace, enjoyed exceptional prosperity and made a far greater gain than in any other twenty years of her history—a gain which during four years was in large part due to the calamity that had fallen upon the United States. The United Kingdom had added six millions to her population during the period of twenty years, while the addition to the United States exceeded eighteen millions.

By the compound ratio of population and wealth in each country, even without making allowance for the great loss incurred by the Civil War, it is plainly shown by the statistics here presented that the degree of progress in the United States under protection far exceeded that of the United Kingdom under free trade for the period named. In 1860 the average wealth, *per capita*, of the United Kingdom was \$1,000, while in the United States it was but \$450. In 1880 the United Kingdom had increased her *per capita* wealth to \$1,230, while the United States had increased her *per capita* wealth to \$870. The United Kingdom had in twenty years increased her *per capita* wealth 23 per cent., while the United States had increased

her *per capita* wealth more than 93 per cent. If allowance should be made for war losses, the ratio of gain in the United States would far exceed 100 per cent. Upon these results, what ground has Mr. Gladstone for his assertion ?

With great confidence, Mr. Gladstone proposes to carry the war for free trade into the enemy's country. Perhaps, the enemy who are only modest protectionists, may embarrass the march of his logic with a few pertinent questions, or, at least, abate the rate of speed which he proposes for his triumphant movement. I shall not give counter theories. I shall only cite established facts and allow the facts to establish their own theories:

1. John Edgar Thompson, late president of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, purchased one hundred tons of steel rails in 1862 at a price (freight paid to New York; duty of 45 per cent. unpaid) of \$103.44 gold coin. (By way of illustrating Mr. Gladstone's claim to superior quality of manufactures under free trade, the railroad company states that many of the rails broke during the first winter's trial.) In 1864 English rails had fallen to \$88 per ton in New York, the freight paid and the duty unpaid. English manufacturers held the market for the ensuing six years, though the

sales at the high prices were limited. In 1870 Congress laid a specific duty of \$28 per ton on steel rails. From that time the home market has been held by our own manufacturers, with a steady annual fall in price, as the facilities for production increased until the past summer and autumn, when steel rails were selling in Pittsburg, Chicago and London at substantially the same prices. Does any free-trader on either side of the ocean honestly believe that American rails could ever have been furnished as cheaply as English rails, except by the sturdy competition which the highly-protective duty of 1870 enabled the American manufacturers to maintain against the foreign manufacturers in the first place, and among American manufacturers themselves in the second place? It is not asserted that during the nineteen years since the heavy duty was first established (except during the past few months) American rails have been as cheap in America as English rails have been in England, but it is asserted with perfect confidence that, steadily and invariably, American railroad companies have bought cheaper rails at home than they would have been able to buy in England if the protective duty had not stimulated the manufacture of steel rails in the

United States, and if the resulting competition had not directly operated upon the English market.*

2. English steel for locomotive tires imported in 1865, duty paid, was thirty-four cents per pound in gold. The American competition, under a heavy protective duty, had, by 1872, reduced the price to thirteen cents per pound, duty paid. At the present time (1889) American steel for locomotive tires, of as good quality as the English steel formerly imported, is furnished at four and three-quarter cents per pound, and delivered free of cost at the point where the locomotives are manufactured. The lowering of price was not a voluntary act on the part of the English manufacturer. It

* In 1870 only 30,000 tons of steel rail were manufactured in the United States. But the product under the increased duty of that year rapidly increased. The relative number of tons produced in England and the United States for a period of twelve years is shown as follows :

For the same period, 1877-1888 inclusive, the following table will show the number of tons of steel ingots produced in the two countries respectively:

<i>England.</i>		<i>United States.</i>	<i>England.</i>		<i>United States.</i>
1877.....	508,400	385,865	1877.....	757,006	500,524
1878.....	622,390	491,427	1878.....	807,527	653,773
1879.....	520,231	610,682	1879.....	834,511	829,439
1880.....	732,910	852,196	1880.....	1,044,382	1,074,262
1881.....	1,023,740	1,187,770	1881.....	1,441,719	1,374,247

was the direct result of American competition under a protective duty—a competition that could not have been successfully inaugurated under free trade.

3. In the year 1860, the last under a free-trade policy, the population of thirty-one millions in the United States bought carpets to the amount of twelve millions of dollars. Nearly half of the total amount was imported. In 1888, with a population estimated at sixty-three millions, the aggre-

<i>England. United States.</i>			<i>England. United States.</i>		
1882.....	1,235,785	1,284,067	1882.....	1,673,649	1,514,687
1883.....	1,097,174	1,148,709	1883.....	1,553,380	1,477,345
1884... ..	784,968	996,983	1884.....	1,299,676	1,375,531
1885	766,583	959,471	1885.....	1,304,127	1,519,430
1886.....	730,343	1,574,703	1886.....	1,570,520	2,269,190
1887.....	1,021,847	2,101,904	1887.....	2,089,403	2,936,033
1888.....	979,083	1,386,277	1888.....	2,032,794	2,511,161
<hr/>			<hr/>		
Total in 12			Total in 12		
years.....	9,963,454	12,980,654	years.....	16,401,688	18,035,622

Under the protective duty of 1870 the United States soon manufactured annually a much larger quantity of steel than Great Britain, and reduced the price from \$100 per ton in gold to less than \$35 per ton in gold.

gate amount paid for carpets was nearly sixty millions of dollars, and of this large sum less than one million was paid for foreign carpets and about half a million for Oriental rugs. Does any free-trader in England believe that the United

States, without a protective tariff, could have attained such control of its own carpet manufacture and trade? It will not be unnoticed, in this connection, that under a protective tariff the population, by reason of better wages, was enabled to buy a far greater proportion of carpets than under free trade. Nor must it escape observation that carpets are now furnished to the American buyer, under a protective tariff, much cheaper than when a non-protective tariff allowed Europe to send so large a proportion of the total amount used in the United States.

These illustrations might be indefinitely multiplied. In woollens, in cottons, in leather fabrics, in glass, in products of lead, of brass, of copper; indeed, in the whole round of manufactures, it will be found that protection has brought down the price from the rate charged by the importers before protection had built up the competing manufacture in America. For many articles we pay less than is paid in Europe. If we pay higher for other things than is paid across the sea to-day, figures plainly indicate that we pay less than we should have been compelled to pay if the protective system had not been adopted; and I beg Mr. Gladstone's attention to the fact that the American people have much more

wherewith to pay than they ever had or could have under free trade.*

Mr. Gladstone boldly contends that "keeping capital at home by protection is dear production, and is a delusion from top to bottom." I take direct issue with him on that proposition. Between 1870 and the present time considerably more than

* In spite of these facts, President Cleveland made the following statements, which I quote from his free-trade message to Congress in December, 1887:

"Our present tariff laws, as their primary and plain effect, raise the price to consumers of all articles imported and subject to duty, by precisely the sum paid for such duties. Thus the amount of the duty measures the tax paid by those who purchase for use these imported articles. Many of these things, however, are raised or manufactured in our own country, and the duties now levied upon foreign goods and products are called protection to these home manufactures, because they render it possible for those of our people who are manufacturers *to make these taxed articles and sell them for a price equal to that demanded for the imported goods that have paid customs duty.* So it happens that, while *comparatively a few use the imported articles, millions of our people who never use and never saw any of the foreign products, purchase and use things of the same kind made in this country, and pay therefore nearly or quite the same enhanced price which the duty adds to the imported articles.*"

I recall this quotation primarily for two reasons. *First*, Mr. Cleveland stands without a rival at the head of the free-trade party in the United States, and it is instructive to see how exactly he adopts the line of argument used by the English free-trader. *Second*, It is a valuable admission from the head of the free-trade party when he affirms that "comparatively a few of our people use imported articles," and that

one hundred thousand miles of railroad have been built in the United States. The steel rail and other metal connected therewith involved so vast a sum of money that it could not have been raised to send out of the country in gold coin. The total cost could not have been less than five hundred millions of dollars. We had a large interest to pay abroad on the public debt, and for nine years after 1870

there are "millions of our people who never use or never saw any of the foreign products." In what words could the complete success of the protective policy in the United States be more fitly expressed?

But when Mr. Cleveland asserted that our people pay for our domestic fabrics "nearly or quite the same enhanced price which the duty adds to the imported articles," he evidently spoke without investigating facts, and accepted as true one of those fallacious statements which have been used in the interest of foreign importers to deceive the people. Mr. Cleveland's argument would have been strengthened if he had given a few examples—nay, if he had given one example—to sustain his charge. As he omitted all illustrations of his position, I venture to select a few which apparently establish the exact reverse of Mr. Cleveland's statement:

India rubber goods are protected by a duty of 25 per cent.; but, instead of those goods being 25 per cent. higher in price than the foreign goods, they are, in fact, cheaper. They undersell the English article in Canada and successfully compete with Canada's goods, which are protected by a duty of 20 per cent.

Patent leather is subject to a duty of 20 per cent; but patent leather is not, therefore, 20 per cent. higher in the United States than elsewhere. On the contrary, it is cheaper. Five years ago, the city government of London advertised for bids for a large amount of patent leather to be used in con-

gold was at a premium in the United States. During those years nearly forty thousand miles of railway were constructed, and to import English rail and pay for it with gold bought at a large premium would have been impossible. A very large proportion of the railway enterprises would of necessity have been abandoned if the export of gold to pay for the rails had been the condition precedent

nection with the uniforms of the police. There were bids from several countries, but the lowest bid was offered by a manufacturer of Newark, N. J. He secured the contract, and furnished the goods at a fair profit.

Steel rails are selling in London for seven pounds sterling per ton. The duty is \$15 per ton. The price, therefore, in the United States ought to be, according to Mr. Cleveland's doctrine, \$50 per ton. But in fact the price is but \$35 per ton, and during the last summer and autumn was as low as \$25 per ton, and large sales were made at \$30 per ton.

Boots and shoes are subject to 30 per cent. duty. According to Mr. Cleveland, they should be 30 per cent. higher than the foreign article. As a matter of fact, they are cheaper. American boots and shoes hold the Canadian market against the European manufacture.

Examples of this kind could be shown on almost the whole tariff list where an American manufacture is firmly established. In fact, the whole history of protection has vindicated what Alexander Hamilton said of it when he was at the head of the Treasury: "The internal competition which takes place soon does away with everything like monopoly, and by degrees reduces the price of the article to the *minimum* of a reasonable profit on the capital employed. This accords with the reason of the thing and with experience." Mr. Hamilton thus effectually answers both Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Cleveland.

to their construction. But the manufacture of steel rails at home gave an immense stimulus to business. Tens of thousands of men were paid good wages, and great investments and great enrichments followed the line of the new road and opened to the American people large fields for enterprise not heretofore accessible.

I might ask Mr. Gladstone what he would have done with the labor of the thousands of men engaged in manufacturing rail, if it had been judged practicable to buy the rail in England? Fortunately he has given his answer in advance of the question, for he tells us that "in America we produce more cloth and more iron at high prices, instead of more cereals and more cotton at low prices." The grain-growers of the West and the cotton-growers of the South will observe that Mr. Gladstone holds out to them a cheerful prospect! They "should produce more cereals and more cotton at low prices!" Mr. Gladstone sees that the protective system steadily tends to keep up the price of "cereals and cotton," and he asks that manufactures of "cloth and iron" be abandoned, so that we may raise "more cereals and more cotton at low prices." Mr. Gladstone evidently considers the present prices of cereals and cotton as "high prices."

Protectionists owe many thanks to Mr. Gladstone for his out-spoken mode of dealing with this question of free trade. He gives us his conclusions without qualification and without disguise. The American free-trader is not so sincere. He is ever presenting half-truths and holding back the other half, thus creating false impressions and leading to false conclusions. But Mr. Gladstone is entirely frank. He tells the laborers on protected articles that they would be better engaged in "raising more cereals and more cotton at low prices." Where does Mr. Gladstone suggest a market for the additional grain and cotton to be raised by American mechanics becoming farmers and increasing the production of those great staples? The foreign market is filled with a competing grain-supply to such a degree that already the price of wheat is unduly lowered to the Western farmer. The farmer needs a still larger home consumption of his grain, while Mr. Gladstone thinks he needs a still larger home production. The legitimate involvement of Mr. Gladstone's argument is that all mechanical and manufacturing enterprises in America producing articles of higher price than the same produced in Europe should be abandoned, and the laborers so engaged should be turned to the production of

“more cereals and more cotton at low prices!” The Western farmer’s instinct is wiser than Mr. Gladstone’s philosophy. The farmer knows that the larger the home market the better are his prices, and that as the home market is narrowed his prices fall. Mr. Gladstone’s pregnant suggestion really exhibits the thought that lies deep in the British mind : That the mechanic arts and the manufacturing processes should be left to Great Britain and the production of raw material should be left to America. It is the old colonial idea of the last century, when the establishment of manufactures on this side of the ocean was regarded with great jealousy by British statesmen and British merchants. Some years before the Revolutionary struggle began, Parliament had declared that “the erecting of manufactories in the colonies tends to lessen their dependence on Great Britain.” A few years later the British Board of Trade reported to Parliament that “manufactures in the American colonies interfere with profits made by British merchants.” The same body petitioned Parliament that “some measures should be provided to prevent the manufacturing of woolen and linen goods in the colonies.” Finally, Parliament declared that “colonial manufacturing was prejudicial to the

trade and manufactures of Great Britain." These outrageous sentiments (the colonists characterized them much more severely) were cherished in the time of the glorious Georges, in the era of Walpole and the elder Pitt.

I do not mean to imply that Mr. Gladstone's words carry with them an approval, even retrospectively, of this course toward the colonies, but there is a remarkable similarity to the old policy in the fundamental idea that causes him in 1889 to suggest that Americans produce "too much cloth and too much iron," and should turn their labor to "low-priced cereals and low-priced cotton." Are we not justified in concluding that Mr. Gladstone's theory of free trade, in all its generalizations and specifications, is fitted exactly to the condition of great Britain, and that British hostility to American protection finds its deep foundation in the fact—to quote the old phrases—that "it is prejudicial to the trade and manufactures of Great Britain," that "it lessens our dependence upon Great Britain," and that "it interferes with profits made by British merchants?"

CARRYING THE WAR INTO THE ENEMY'S CAMP.

Mr. Gladstone makes another statement of great frankness and of great value. Comparing the

pursuits in the United States which require no protection with those that are protected, he says: "No adversary, will, I think, venture upon saying that the profits are larger in protected than in unprotected industries." This is very true, and Mr. Gladstone may be surprised to hear that the constant objection made by American free-traders against the "protected industries," as he terms them, is that the profits derived from them are illegitimately large. Mr. Gladstone sees clearly that, as a rule, this is not true, and he at once discerns the reason. He says "the best opinions seem to testify that in your protected trades profits are hard pressed by wages." The free-traders of America try by every cunning device to hide this fact. Its admission is fatal to their cause. Not one free-trade organ or leader among them all dares to take his position beside Mr. Gladstone and plainly tell the truth to the American laborer. Not one free-trade organ or leader dares frankly to say to the great body of American workmen that the destruction of protection inevitably and largely reduces their daily wages. I thank Mr. Gladstone for this testimony, at once accurate and acute. (It is fair to presume that he intends it to be applied to the unprotected manufacturer in England and to the

protected manufacturer in America, both producing the same article. His logic gives, and I have no doubt truly, as large profit to the manufacturer of England, selling at a low price, as to the manufacturer of America, selling at a high price—the difference consisting wholly in the superior wages paid to the American mechanic.

There is another important effect of protective duties which Mr. Gladstone does not include in his frank admission. He sees that the laborers in what he calls the “protected industries” secure high pay, especially as compared with the European school of wages. He perhaps does not see that the effect is to raise the wages of all persons in the United States engaged in what Mr. Gladstone calls the “unprotected industries.” Printers, bricklayers, carpenters and all others of that class are paid as high wages as those of any other trade or calling; but if the wages of all those in the protected classes were suddenly struck down to the English standard, the others must follow. A million men cannot be kept at work for half the pay that another million men are receiving in the same country. Both classes must go up or must go down together.

Mr. Gladstone makes another contention, in

which, from the American point of view, he leaves out of sight a controlling factor, and hence refers an effect to the wrong cause. Regarding the advance of wages in England, he says: "Wages which have been partially and relatively higher under protection have become both generally and absolutely higher, and greatly higher, under free trade." I do not doubt the fact, but I venture to suggest that such advance in wages as there has been in England is referable to another and a palpable cause—namely, the higher wages in the United States, which have constantly tempted British mechanics to emigrate, and which would have tempted many more if the inducement of an advance in wages at home had not been interposed. Especially have wages been high and tempting in the United States since 1861, when the country became firmly protective by the enactment of the Morrill tariff. It will be found, I think, that the advance of wages in England corresponds precisely in time, though not in degree, with the advance in the United States, and the advance in both cases was directly due to the firm establishment of protection in this country as a national policy. But it must not be forgotten that American wages are still from 70 per cent. to 100 per cent.

higher than British wages. If a policy of free trade should be adopted in the United States, the reduction of wages which would follow here would promptly lead to a reduction in England. The operatives of Manchester, Leeds and Sheffield recognize this fact as clearly as do the proprietors who pay the advanced wages, and more clearly than do certain political economists who think the world of commerce and manufactures can be unerringly directed by a theory evolved in a closet without sufficient data, and applied to an inexact science.

GLADSTONE'S MORAL PLEA FAULTY.

The zeal of Mr. Gladstone for free trade reaches its highest point in the declaration that "all protection is *morally* as well as economically bad." He is right in making this his strongest ground of opposition, if protection is a question of morals. But his assertion leaves him in an attitude of personal inconsistency. There is protection on sea as well as on land. Indeed, the most palpable and effective form of protection is in the direct payment of public money to a line of steamers that could not be maintained without that form of aid. I do not say that such aid is unwise protection;

least of all do I say it is immoral. On the contrary, I think it has often proved the highest commercial wisdom, without in the least infringing upon the domain of morals. Mr. Gladstone, however, commits himself to the principle that "all protection is morally bad." If this has been his belief ever since he became an advocate of free trade, his conscience must have received many and severe wounds as session after session, while Chancellor of the Exchequer, he carried through Parliament a bounty—may I not say a direct protection?—of one hundred and eighty thousand pounds sterling to a line of steamers running between England and the United States—a protection that began six years before free trade was proclaimed in English manufactures, and continued nearly twenty years after. In the whole period of twenty-five years an aggregate of many millions of dollars was paid out to protect the English line against all competition.

It may be urged that this sum was paid for carrying the Anglo-American mails, but that argument will not avail a free-trader, because steamers of other nationalities stood ready to carry the mails at a far cheaper rate. Nay, a few years ago, possibly when Mr. Gladstone was Premier of Eng-

land, public bids were asked to carry the Anglo-Indian mails. A French line offered a lower bid than any English line, but the English Government disregarded the French bid, and gave the contract to the Peninsular and Oriental line, owned by a well-known English company. Still later, the German Lloyd Company contracted to carry the Anglo-American mails cheaper than any English line offered, and the German company actually began to perform the duty. But Englishmen did not want that kind of free trade, and they broke the contract with the German line and again gave protection to the English ships. Does not this justify the opinion that the English policy of free trade is urged where England can hold the field against rivals, and that, when competition leaves her behind, she repudiates free trade and substitutes the most pronounced form of protection ?

Does Mr. Gladstone's estimate of the immorality of protection apply only to protection on land, or is supremacy on the sea so important to British interests that it is better to throw morals to the wind and resort to whatever degree of protection may be necessary to secure the lead to English ships ? The doctrine of improving harbors in the United States by the national government was for many

years severely contested, the strict construction party maintaining that it must be confined to harbors on the sea-coast at points where foreign commerce reaches the country. During one of the many discussions over this narrow construction an Ohio member of Congress declared that he "could not think much of a constitution that would not stand being dipped in fresh water as well as salt." I fear that Mr. Gladstone's code of morals on this question of protection will not secure much respect in other countries so long as it spoils in salt water.

It will not escape Mr. Gladstone's keen observation that British interests in navigation flourish with less rivalry and have increased in greater proportion than any other of the great interests of the United Kingdom. I ask his candid admission that it is the one interest which England has protected steadily and determinedly, regardless of consistency and regardless of expense. Nor will Mr. Gladstone fail to note that navigation is the weakest of the great interests in the United States, because it is the one which the national government has constantly refused to protect. If, since the Civil War, the United States had spent in protecting her shipping merely the annual interest on the great sum which England has expended to protect her

ocean traffic, American fleets would now be rivaling the fleets of England, as they rivalled them before the war, on every sea where the prospect of commercial gain invites the American flag.

The failure of the United States to encourage and establish commercial lines of American ships is in strange contrast with the zealous efforts made to extend lines of railway inside the country, even to the point of anticipating the real needs of many sections. If all the advances to railway companies, together with the outright gifts by towns, cities, counties, States and nation be added together, the money value would not fall short of a thousand millions of dollars. No effort seems too great for our people when the interior of the country is to be connected with the seaboard. But when the suggestion is made to connect our seaboard with commercial cities of other countries by lines of steamships, the public mind is at once disturbed by the cry of "subsidy." We really feel as much afraid of protection at sea as Mr. Gladstone is of protection on land. The positions of the American Congress and the English Parliament on this subject are precisely reversed. England has never been affrighted by the word subsidy, and, while we have stood still in impotent fear, she has taken

possession of the seas by the judicious, and even lavish, interposition of pecuniary aid. I have already said that the interest on the amount which England has paid for this object since she began it with great energy fifty years ago would give all the stimulus needed for the rapid expansion of our commerce. Let it be added that if the government of the United States will for twenty years to come give merely the interest upon the interest, at the rate of 5 per cent., on the amount which has been a free gift to railroads, every steam line needed on the Atlantic, the Pacific and the Gulf will spring into existence within two years from the passage of the act. It is but a few years since Congress twice refused to give even \$125,000 per annum to secure an admirable line of steamers from New York to the four largest ports of Brazil. And the sum of \$125,000 is but the interest upon the interest of the interest at 5 per cent. of the gross amount freely given to the construction of railroads within the Union. Is it any wonder that we have lost all prestige on the sea?

The opposition to the policy of extending our foreign commerce by aiding steamship lines with a small sum, just as we have aided internal commerce on railroads with a vast sum, originates with the

American free-trader. Mr. Gladstone cannot fail to see how advantageous the success of this free-trade effort in the United States must prove to Great Britain. The steady argument of the free-trader is that, if the steamship lines were established, we could not increase our trade because we produce under our protective tariff nothing that can compete in neutral markets with articles of the like kind from England. How then can the free-trader explain the fact that a long list of articles manufactured in the United States find ready and large sale in Canada? The Canadian tariff is the same upon English and American goods. Transportation from England to Quebec or Montreal is cheaper than from the manufacturing centres of the United States to the same points. The difference is not great, but it is in favor of the English shipper across the seas, and not of the American shipper by railway. It is for the free-trader to explain why, if the cost of transportation be made the same, the United States cannot compete with England in every country in South America, in all the articles of which we sell a larger amount in Canada than England does. I append a note naming the American articles sold in Canada, and the free-

trader, if candid, will admit that the list is one which is constantly and rapidly increasing*

Giving heed to the cry of the professional free-trader in America, Mr. Gladstone feels sure that, though the protected manufacturers in the United States may flourish and prosper, they do so at the expense of the farmer, who is in every conceivable form, according to the free-trade *dictum*, the helpless victim of protection. Both Mr. Gladstone and the American free-trader have, then, the duty of explaining why the agricultural States of the West have grown in wealth during the long period of protection at a more rapid rate than the manufacturing States of the East. The statement of the

* The following articles of American manufacture are sold in Canada more largely than like articles of English manufacture:

Brass goods, copper goods, cordage, gingham, bottles, flasks, india-rubber goods, printing-ink, ingrain carpets, wood manufactures, twines, tinware, ship-rigging, wall-paper, writing-paper, envelopes, blank books, strawboard paper, boots and shoes, leather and skins, sole leather, leather goods, patent leather, figured oil-cloths, grain drills, harrows, harvesters, hoes, forks, mowing-machines, scythes, spades, shovels, builders' and cabinet-makers' hardware, house-furnishing hardware, nails, fire-arms, sewing machines, screws, stoves, axes, jewelry, (sterling and plated), silverware, lamps, locomotives, hatchets, hammers, saws, mechanics' tools, organs, pianos, "notions," plain house-furniture, especially hotel furniture.

free-trader can be conclusively answered by referring to the census of the United States for the year 1860, and also for the year 1880:

In 1860, eight manufacturing States of the East (the six of New England, together with New York and Pennsylvania) returned an aggregate wealth of \$5,123,000,000. Twenty years afterwards, by the census of 1880, the same States returned an aggregate wealth of \$16,228,000,000. The rate of increase for the twenty years was slightly more than 216 per cent.

Let us see how the agricultural States fared during this period. By the census of 1860, eight agricultural States of the West (Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska and Wisconsin) returned an aggregate wealth of \$2,271,000,000. Twenty years afterwards, by the census of 1880 (protection all the while in full force), these same States returned an aggregate wealth of \$11,268,000,000. The rate of increase for the twenty years was 396 per cent., or 180 per cent. greater than the increase in the eight manufacturing States of the East.

The case will be equally striking if we take the fifteen Southern States that were slaveholding in 1860. By the census of that year, the aggregate

return of their property was \$6,792,000,000; but \$2,000,000,000 was slave property. Deducting that, the total property amounted to \$4,792,000,000. Their aggregate return of wealth by the census of 1880 was \$8,633,000,000. The rate of increase for the twenty years was 80 per cent. Consider that during this period eleven States of the South were impoverished by civil war to an extent far greater than any country has been despoiled in the wars of modern Europe. Consider that the labor system on which previous wealth had been acquired in the South was entirely broken up. And yet, at the end of twenty years, the Southern States had repaired all their enormous losses and possessed nearly double the wealth they had ever known before. Do not these figures incontestably show that the agricultural sections of the country, West and South, have prospered even beyond the manufacturing sections, East and North? And all this not merely with protection, but because of protection!

HIS GREAT ERROR.

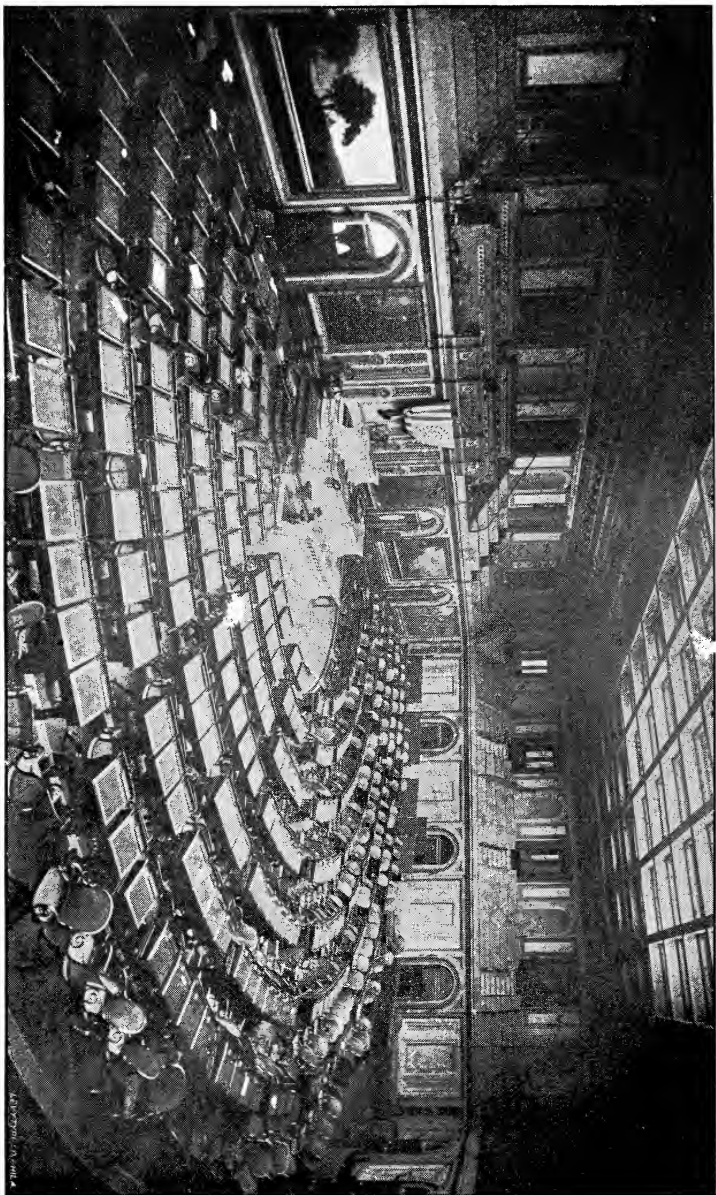
As Mr. Gladstone considers protection immoral, he defines its specific offence as "robbery." To have been fully equal to the American standard of free-trade vituperation, Mr. Gladstone should have

denounced our manufacturers as "Robber Barons." This is the current phrase with a class who are perhaps more noisy than numerous. The intention of the phrase is to create popular prejudice against American manufacturers as growing rich at the expense of the people. This accusation is so persistently repeated that its authors evidently regard it as important to their cause. It may perhaps surprise Mr. Gladstone to be told that out of the fifty largest fortunes in the United States—those that have arrested public attention within the last ten years—certainly not more than one has been derived from protected manufacturing; and this was amassed by a gentleman of the same Scotch blood with Mr. Gladstone himself. The forty-nine other fortunes were acquired from railway and telegraph investments, from real-estate investments, from the import and sale of foreign goods, from banking, from speculations in the stock market, from fortunate mining investments, from patented inventions and more than one from proprietary medicines.

It is safe to go even farther, and state that in the one hundred largest fortunes that have been viewed as such in the past ten years not five have been derived from the profits of protected manufactures. Their origin will be found in the fields

of investment already referred to. Moreover, the fear of the evil effect of large fortunes is exaggerated. Fortunes rapidly change. With us wealth seldom lasts beyond two generations. There is but one family in the United States recognized as possessing large wealth for four consecutive generations. When Mr. Jefferson struck the blow that broke down the right of primogeniture and destroyed the privilege of entail, he swept away the only ground upon which wealth can be secured to one family for a long period. The increase in the number of heirs in successive generations, the rightful assertion of equality among children of the same parents, the ready destruction of wills that depart too far from this principle of right, and, above all, the uncertainty and the accidents of investment, scatter fortunes to the wind and give to them all the uncertainty that betides human existence.

In no event can the growth of large fortunes be laid to the charge of the protective policy. Protection has proved a distributor of great sums of money; not an agency for amassing it in the hands of a few. The records of our savings-banks and building associations can be appealed to in support of this statement. The benefit of protection goes



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first and last to the men who earn their bread in the sweat of their faces. The auspicious and momentous results is that never before in the history of the world has comfort been enjoyed, education acquired and independence secured by so large a proportion of the total population as in the United States of America.

JAMES G. BLAINE.

Selected by Congress to pronounce a formal eulogy upon President Garfield, Mr. Blaine, on February 19, 1881, before President Arthur and his Cabinet, both houses of Congress, the Supreme Court, the foreign legations, and an audience of leaders and gentlemen which crowded the House of Representatives, delivered a most just, comprehensive and admirable address upon the martyr's great career and character. The orator, with entire self-abnegation and reserve, but with a firm touch and a style which rose at times to lofty eloquence, assigned to President Garfield his true place in history.

Senator Hoar, in speaking of Mr. Blaine's literary works, says that his eulogy on Garfield has always seemed to him (Mr. Hoar) one of the most

exquisite productions of the class to which it belonged. This recalls to mind the fact that Mr. Blaine, in giving me a bound copy of that eulogy, with an autograph inscription in it, remarked that he took as much pride in that address as in any thing he had ever delivered or written.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS.

For the second time in this generation the great departments of the Government of the United States are assembled in the Hall of Representatives to do honor to the memory of a murdered President. Lincoln fell at the close of a mighty struggle in which the passions of men had been deeply stirred. The tragical termination of his great life added but another to the lengthened succession of horrors which had marked so many lintels with the blood of the first-born. Garfield was slain in a day of peace, when brother had been reconciled to brother, and when anger and hate had been banished from the land. "Whoever shall hereafter draw the portrait of murder, if he will show it as it has been exhibited where such example was last to have been looked for, let him not give it the grim visage of Moloch, the brow knitted by revenge, the face black with settled hate. Let him

draw, rather, a decorous, smooth-faced, bloodless demon; not so much an example of human nature in its depravity and in its paroxysms of crime, as an infernal being, a fiend in the ordinary display and development of his character."

From the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth till the uprising against Charles I., about twenty thousand emigrants came from old England to New England. As they came in pursuit of intellectual freedom and ecclesiastical independence rather than for worldly honor and profit, the emigration naturally ceased when the contest for religious liberty began in earnest at home. The man who struck his most effective blow for freedom of conscience by sailing for the Colonies in 1620 would have been accounted a deserter if he had left after 1640. The opportunity had then come on the soil of England for that great contest which established the authority of Parliament, gave religious freedom to the people, sent Charles to the block, and committed to the hands of Oliver Cromwell the supreme executive power of England. The emigration was never renewed, and from these twenty thousand men, and from a small emigration from Scotland, from Ireland, and from France, are descended the vast numbers who have New England blood in their veins.

In 1685 the revocation of the edict of Nantes by Louis XIV. scattered to other countries four hundred thousand Protestants, who were among the most intelligent and enterprising of French subjects—merchants of capital, skilled manufacturers, and handicraftsmen, superior at the time to all others in Europe. A considerable number of these Huguenot French came to America; a few landed in New England and became prominent in its history. Their names have in large part become anglicized, or have disappeared, but their blood is traceable in many of the most reputable families, and their fame is perpetuated in honorable memorials and useful institutions.

From these two sources, the Puritan and the Huguenot, came the late President—his father, Abram Garfield, being descended from the one, his mother, Eliza Ballou, from the other. It was good stock on both sides—none better, none braver, none truer. There was in it an inheritance of courage, of manliness, of imperishable love of liberty, of undying adherence to principle. Garfield was proud of his blood; and, with as much satisfaction as if he were a British nobleman reading his stately ancestral record in Burke's Peerage, he spoke of himself as ninth in descent from those

who would not endure the oppression of the Stuarts, and seventh in descent from the brave French Protestants who refused to submit to tyranny even from Louis the Great.

General Garfield delighted to dwell on these traits, and, during his only visit to England, he busied himself in searching out every trace of his forefathers in parish registries and on ancient army roles. Sitting with a friend in the gallery of the House of Commons, one night, after a long day's labor in this field of research, he said, with evident elation, that in every war in which for three centuries patriots of English blood had struck sturdy blows for constitutional government and human liberty, his family had been represented. They were at Marston Moor, at Naseby, and at Preston; they were at Bunker Hill, at Saratoga, and at Monmouth; and in his own person had battled for the same great cause in the war which preserved the Union of the States.

His father dying before he was two years old, Garfield's early life was one of privation, but his poverty has been made indelicately and unjustly prominent. Thousands of readers have imagined him as the ragged, starving child, whose reality too often greets the eye in the squalid sections of our

large cities. General Garfield's infancy and youth had none of this destitution, none of these pitiful features appealing to the tender heart and to the open hand of charity. He was a poor boy in the same sense in which Henry Clay was a poor boy; in which Andrew Jackson was a poor boy; in which Daniel Webster was a poor boy; in the sense in which a large majority of the eminent men of America in all generations have been poor boys. Before a great multitude, in a public speech, Mr. Webster bore this testimony:

"It did not happen to me to be born in a log cabin, but my elder brothers and sisters were born in a log cabin, raised amid the snowdrifts of New Hampshire, at a period so early that when the smoke rose first from its rude chimney and curled over the frozen hills, there was no similar evidence of a white man's habitation between it and the settlements on the rivers of Canada. Its remains still exist. I make to it an annual visit. I carry my children to it to teach them the hardships endured by the generations which have gone before them. I love to dwell on the tender recollections, the kindred ties, the early affections and the touching narratives and incidents which mingle with all I know of this primitive family abode."

With the requisite change of scene, the same words would aptly portray the early days of Garfield. The poverty of the frontier, where all are engaged in a common struggle and where a common sympathy and hearty co-operation lighten the burdens of each, is a very different

poverty—different in kind, different in influence and effect—from that conscious and humiliating indigence which is every day forced to contrast itself with neighboring wealth on which it feels the sense of grinding dependence. The poverty of the frontier is indeed no poverty. It is but the beginning of wealth, and the boundless possibilities of the future are always opening before it. No man ever grew up in the agricultural regions of the West, where a house-raising, or even a corn-husking is matter of common interest and helpfulness, with any other feeling than that of broad-minded, generous independence. This honorable independence marked the youth of Garfield, as it marks the youth of millions of the best blood and brain now training for the future citizenship and future government of the republic. He was born heir to land, to the title of freeholder, which has been the patent and passport of self-respect with the Anglo-Saxon race ever since Hengist and Horsa landed on the shores of England. His adventure on the canal—an alternative between that and the deck of a Lake Erie schooner—was a farmer boy's device for earning money, just as the New England lad begins a possibly great career by sailing before the mast on

a coasting vessel, or on a merchantman bound to the farther India or to the China seas.

No manly man feels anything of shame in looking back to early struggles with adverse circumstances, and no man feels a worthier pride than when he has conquered the obstacles to his progress. But no one of noble mould desires to be looked upon as having occupied a menial position, as having been repressed by a feeling of inferiority, or as having suffered the evils of poverty until relief was found at the hand of charity. General Garfield's youth presented no hardships which family love and family energy did not overcome, subjected him to no privations which he did not cheerfully accept, and left no memories save those which were recalled with delight, and transmitted with profit and with pride.

His early opportunities for securing an education were extremely limited, and yet were sufficient to develop in him an intense desire to learn. He could read at three years of age, and each winter he had the advantage of the district school. He read all the books to be found within the circle of his acquaintance; some of them he learned by heart. While yet in childhood he was a constant student of the Bible, and became familiar with its

literature. The dignity and earnestness of his speech in mature life gave evidence of this early training. At eighteen years of age he was able to teach school, and thenceforward his ambition was to obtain a college education. To this end he bent all his efforts, working in the harvest field, at the carpenter's bench, and, in the winter season, teaching the common schools of the neighborhood. While thus laboriously occupied he found time to prosecute his studies, and was so successful that at twenty-two years of age he was able to enter the junior class at Williams College, then under the Presidency of the venerable and honored Mark Hopkins, who, in the fullness of his powers, survives the eminent pupil to whom he was of inestimable service.

The history of Garfield's life to this period presents no novel features. He had undoubtedly shown perseverance, self-reliance, self-sacrifice and ambition—qualities which, be it said for the honor of our country, are everywhere to be found among the young men of America. But from his graduation at Williams, onward to the hour of his tragical death, his career was eminent and exceptional. Slowly working through his educational period, receiving his diploma when twenty-four years of

age, he seemed at one bound to spring into conspicuous and brilliant success. Within six years he was successively President of a College, State Senator of Ohio, Major-General of the Army of the United States, and Representative-elect to the National Congress. A combination of honors so varied, so elevated, within a period so brief and to a man so young, is without parallel in the history of the country.

His army life was begun with no other military knowledge than such as he had hastily gained from books in the few months preceding his march to the field. Stepping from civil life to the head of a regiment, the first order he received when ready to cross the Ohio was to assume command of a brigade, and to operate as an independent force in Eastern Kentucky. His immediate duty was to check the advance of Humphrey Marshall, who was marching down the Big Sandy with the intention of occupying, in connection with other Confederate forces, the entire territory of Kentucky, and of precipitating the State into secession. This was at the close of the year 1861. Seldom, if ever, has a young college professor been thrown into a more embarrassing and discouraging position. He knew just enough of military science, as he

expressed it himself, to measure the extent of his ignorance, and with a handful of men he was marching, in rough winter weather, into a strange country, among a hostile population, to confront a largely superior force under the command of a distinguished graduate of West Point, who had seen active and important service in two preceding wars.

The result of the campaign is a matter of history. The skill, the endurance, the extraordinary energy shown by Garfield, the courage he imparted to his men, raw and untried as himself, the measures he adopted to increase his force and to create in the enemy's mind exaggerated estimates of his numbers, bore perfect fruit in the rout of Marshall, the capture of his camp, the dispersion of his force, and the emancipation of an important territory from the control of the rebellion. Coming at the close of a long series of disasters to the Union arms, this victory had an unusual and extraneous importance, and in the popular judgment elevated the young commander to the rank of a military hero. With less than two thousand men in his entire command, with a mobilized force of only eleven hundred, without cannon, he had met an army of five thousand and defeated them—driving Marshall's forces successively from two strongholds of their own

selection, fortified with abundant artillery. Major-General Buell, commanding the Department of the Ohio, an experienced and able soldier of the regular army, published an order of thanks and congratulation on the brilliant result of the Big Sandy campaign, which would have turned the head of a less cool and sensible man than Garfield. Buell declared that his services had called into action the highest qualities of a soldier, and President Lincoln supplemented these words of praise by the more substantial reward of a Brigadier-General's commission, to bear date from the day of his decisive victory over Marshall.

The subsequent military career of Garfield fully sustained its brilliant beginning. With his new commission he was assigned to the command of a brigade in the Army of the Ohio, and took part in the second and decisive day's fight on the bloody field of Shiloh. The remainder of the year 1862 was not especially eventful to him, as it was not to the armies with which he was serving. His practical sense was called into exercise in completing the task, assigned him by General Buell, of reconstructing bridges and re-establishing lines of railway communication for the Army. His occupation in this useful but not brilliant field was varied

by service on courts-martial of importance, in which department of duty he won a valuable reputation, attracting the notice and securing the approval of the able and eminent Judge Advocate General of the Army. This of itself was warrant to honorable fame; for among the great men who in those trying days gave themselves, with entire devotion, to the service of their country, one who brought to that service the ripest learning, the most fervid eloquence, the most varied attainments, who labored with modesty and shunned applause, who in the day of triumph sat reserved and silent and grateful—as Francis Deak in the hour of Hungary's deliverance—was Joseph Holt of Kentucky, who in his honorable retirement enjoys the respect and veneration of all who love the Union of the States.

Early in 1863 Garfield was assigned to the highly important and responsible post of Chief of Staff to General Rosecrans, then at the head of the Army of the Cumberland. Perhaps in a great military campaign no subordinate officer requires sounder judgment and quicker knowledge of men than the Chief of Staff to the Commanding General. An indiscreet man in such a position can sow more discord, breed more jealousy and disseminate more strife than any other officer in the entire

organization. When Gen. Garfield assumed his new duties he found various troubles already well developed and seriously affecting the value and efficiency of the Army of the Cumberland. The energy, the impartiality, and the tact with which he sought to allay these dissensions, and to discharge the duties of his new and trying position, will always remain one of the most striking proofs of his great versatility. His military duties closed on the memorable field of Chickamauga, a field which, however disastrous to the Union arms, gave to him the occasion of winning imperishable laurels. The very rare distinction was accorded him of a great promotion for bravery on a field that was lost. President Lincoln appointed him a Major-General in the Army of the United States for gallant and meritorious conduct in the battle of Chickamauga.

The Army of the Cumberland was re-organized under the command of General Thomas, who promptly offered Garfield one of its divisions. He was extremely desirous to accept the position, but was embarrassed by the fact that he had, a year before, been elected to Congress, and the time when he must take his seat was drawing near. He preferred to remain in the military service, and had within his own breast the largest confidence of suc-

cess in the wider field which his new rank opened to him. Balancing the arguments on the one side and the other, anxious to determine what was for the best, desirous above all things to do his patriotic duty, he was decisively influenced by the advice of President Lincoln and Secretary Stanton, both of whom assured him that he could, at that time, be of especial value in the House of Representatives. He resigned his commission of Major-General on the fifth day of December, 1863, and took his seat in the House of Representatives on the seventh. He had served two years and four months in the army, and had just completed his thirty-second year.

The Thirty-eighth Congress is pre-eminently entitled in history to the designation of the War Congress. It was elected while the war was flagrant, and every member was chosen upon the issues involved in the continuance of the struggle. The Thirty-seventh Congress had, indeed, legislated to a large extent on war measures, but it was chosen before anyone believed that secession of the States would be actually attempted. The magnitude of the work which fell upon its successor was unprecedented, both in respect to the vast sums of money raised for the support of the Army and

Navy, and of the new and extraordinary powers of legislation which it was forced to exercise. Only twenty-four States were represented, and one hundred and eighty-two members were upon its roll. Among these were many distinguished party leaders on both sides, veterans in the public service, with established reputations for ability, and with that skill which comes only from parliamentary experience. Into this assemblage of men Garfield entered without special preparation, and, it might almost be said, unexpectedly. The question of taking command of a division of troops under General Thomas, or taking his seat in Congress, was kept open till the last moment, so late, indeed, that the resignation of his military commission and his appearance in the House were almost contemporaneous. He wore the uniform of a Major-General of the United States Army on Saturday, and on Monday, in civilian's dress, he answered to the roll-call as a Representative in Congress from the State of Ohio.

He was especially fortunate in the constituency which elected him. Descended almost entirely from New England stock, the men of the Ashtabula district were intensely radical on all questions relating to human rights. Well educated, thrifty,

thoroughly intelligent in affairs, acutely discerning of character, not quick to bestow confidence, and slow to withdraw it, they were at once the most helpful and most exacting of supporters. Their tenacious trust in men in whom they have once confided is illustrated by the unparalleled fact that Elisha Whittlesey, Joshua R. Giddings, and James A. Garfield represented the district for fifty-four years.

There is no test of a man's ability in any department of public life more severe than service in the House of Representatives; there is no place where so little deference is paid to reputation previously acquired, or to eminence won outside; no place where so little consideration is shown for the feelings or the failures of beginners. What a man gains in the House he gains by sheer force of his own character, and if he looses and falls back he must expect no mercy, and will receive no sympathy. It is a field in which the survival of the strongest is the recognized rule, and where no pretense can deceive and no glamour can mislead. The real man is discovered, his worth is impartially weighed, his rank is irreversibly decreed.

With possibly a single exception, Garfield was the youngest member in the House when he entered,

and was but seven years from his college graduation. But he had not been in his seat sixty days before his ability was recognized and his place conceded. He stepped to the front with the confidence of one who belonged there. The House contained an unusual number of strong men of both parties; nineteen of them have since been transferred to the Senate; many of them have served with distinction in the gubernatorial chairs of their respective States, and on foreign missions of great consequence. But among them all none grew so rapidly, none so firmly, as Garfield. As is said by Trevelyan of his Parliamentary hero, Garfield succeeded "because all the world in concert could not have kept him in the background, and because when once in the front he played his part with a prompt intrepidity and a commanding ease that were but the outward symptoms of the immense reserves of energy on which it was in his power to draw." Indeed the apparently reserved force which he possessed was one of his great characteristics. He never did so well but that it seemed he could easily have done better. He never expended so much strength but that he appeared to be holding additional power at command. This is one of the happiest and rarest distinctions of an effec-

tive debater, and often counts for as much, in persuading an assembly, as the eloquent and elaborate argument.

The great measure of Garfield's fame was filled by his service in the House of Representatives. His military life, illustrated by honorable performance, and rich in promise, was, as he himself felt, prematurely terminated, and necessarily incomplete. Speculation as to what he might have done in a field where the great prizes are so few, cannot be profitable. It is sufficient to say that as a soldier he did his duty bravely; he did it intelligently; he won an enviable fame, and he retired from the service without blot or breath against him. As a lawyer, though admirably equipped for the profession, he can scarcely be said to have entered on its practice. The few efforts he made at the bar were distinguished by the same high order of ability which he exhibited on every field where he was put to the test; and, if a man may be accepted as a competent judge of his own capacities and adaptations, the law was the profession to which Garfield should have devoted himself. But fate ordained otherwise, and his reputation in history will rest largely upon his service in the House of Representatives. That service was

exceptionally long. He was nine times consecutively chosen to the House, an honor enjoyed probably by not twenty other Representatives of the more than five thousand who have been elected from the organization of the Government to this hour.

As a parliamentary orator, as a debater on an issue squarely joined, where the position had been chosen and the ground laid out, Garfield must be assigned a very high rank. More, perhaps, than any man with whom he was associated in public life, he gave careful and systematic study to public questions, and he came to every discussion in which he took part, with elaborate and complete preparation. He was a steady and indefatigable worker. Those who imagine that talent or genius can supply the place or achieve the results of labor will find no encouragement in Garfield's life. In preliminary work he was apt, rapid, and skillful. He possessed in a high degree the power of readily absorbing ideas and facts, and, like Dr. Johnson, had the art of getting from a book all that was of value in it by reading apparently so quick and cursory that it seemed like a mere glance at the table of contents. He was a pre-eminently fair and candid man in debate, took no petty advantage,

stooped to no unworthy method, avoided personal allusions, rarely appealed to prejudice, did not seek to inflame passion. He had a quicker eye for the strong point of his adversary than for his weak point, and on his own side he so marshaled his weighty arguments as to make his hearers forget any possible lack in the complete strength of his position. He had a habit of stating his opponent's side with such amplitude of fairness and such liberality of concession that his followers often complained that he was giving his case away. But never in his prolonged participation in the proceedings of the House did he give his case away, or fail in the judgment of competent and impartial listeners to gain the mastery.

These characteristics, which marked Garfield as a great debater, did not, however, make him a great parliamentary leader. A parliamentary leader, as that term is understood wherever free representative government exists, is necessarily and very strictly the organ of his party. An ardent American defined the instinctive warmth of patriotism when he offered the toast, "Our country, always right, but right or wrong, our country." The parliamentary leader who has a body of followers that will do and dare and die for the cause, is one

who believes his party always right, but right or wrong, is for his party. No more important or exacting duty devolves upon him than the selection of the field and the time for contest. He must know not merely how to strike, but where to strike and when to strike. He often skillfully avoids the strength of his opponent's position and scatters confusion in his ranks by attacking an exposed point when really the righteousness of the cause and the strength of logical intrenchment are against him. He conquers often both against the right and the heavy battalions; as when young Charles Fox, in the days of his Toryism, carried the House of Commons against justice, against its immemorial rights, against his own convictions, if, indeed, at that period Fox had convictions, and, in the interest of a corrupt administration, in obedience to a tyrannical sovereign, drove Wilkes from the seat to which the electors of Middlesex had chosen him, and installed Luttrell, in defiance not merely of law but of public decency. For an achievement of that kind Garfield was disqualified—disqualified by the texture of his mind, by the honesty of his heart, by his conscience, and by every instinct and aspiration of his nature.

The three most distinguished parliamentary

leaders hitherto developed in this country are Mr. Clay, Mr. Douglas and Mr. Thaddeus Stevens. They were all men of consummate ability, of great earnestness; of intense personality, differing widely each from the others, and yet with a signal trait in common—the power to command. In the give-and-take of daily discussion, in the art of controlling and consolidating reluctant and refractory followers, in the skill to overcome all forms of opposition, and to meet with competency and courage the varying phases of unlooked-for assault or unsuspected defection, it would be difficult to rank with these a fourth name in all our Congressional history. But of these Mr. Clay was the greatest. It would, perhaps, be impossible to find in the parliamentary annals of the world a parallel to Mr. Clay, in 1841, when at sixty-four years of age he took the control of the Whig party from the President who had received their suffrages, against the power of Webster in the Cabinet, against the eloquence of Choate in the Senate, against the herculean efforts of Caleb Cushing and Henry A. Wise in the House. In unshared leadership, in the pride and plentitude of power, he hurled against John Tyler with deepest scorn the mass of that conquering column which had swept over the land in 1840, and drove

his administration to seek shelter behind the lines of its political foes. Mr. Douglas achieved a victory scarcely less notable when, in 1854, against the secret desires of a strong administration, against the wise counsel of the older chiefs, against the conservative instincts and even the moral sense of the country, he forced a reluctant Congress to repeal the Missouri Compromise. Mr. Thaddeus Stevens in his contests from 1865 to 1868 actually advanced his parliamentary leadership until Congress tied the hands of the President and governed the country by its own will, leaving only perfunctory duties to be discharged by the Executive. With two hundred millions of patronage in his hands at the opening of the contest, aided by the active force of Seward in the Cabinet and the moral power of Chase on the bench, Andrew Johnson could not command the support of one-third in either House against the parliamentary uprising of which Thaddeus Stevens was the animating spirit and the unquestioned leader.

From these three great men Garfield differed radically, differed in the quality of his mind, in temperament, in the form and phase of ambition. He could not do what they did, but he could do what they could not, and in the breadth of his

Congressional work he left that which will longer exert a potential influence among men, and which, measured by the severe test of posthumous criticism, will secure a more enduring and more enviable fame.

Those unfamiliar with Garfield's industry, and ignorant of the details of his work, may, in some degree, measure them by the annals of Congress. No one of the generation of public men to which he belonged has contributed so much that will prove valuable for future reference. His speeches are numerous, many of them brilliant, all of them well studied, carefully phrased, and exhaustive of the subject under consideration. Collected from the scattered pages of ninety royal octavo volumes of Congressional record, they would present an invaluable compendium of the political events of the most important era through which the National Government has ever passed. When the history of this period shall be impartially written, when war legislation, measures of reconstruction, protection of human rights, amendments to the Constitution, maintenance of public credit, steps toward specie resumption, true theories of revenue, may all be reviewed, unsurrounded by prejudice and disconnected from partisanship, the speeches of Garfield

will be estimated at their true value, and will be found to comprise a vast magazine of fact and argument, of clear analysis and sound conclusion. Indeed, if no other authority were accessible, his speeches in the House of Representatives from December, 1863, to June, 1880, would give a well-connected history and complete defense of the important legislation of the seventeen eventful years that constitute his parliamentary life. Far beyond that, his speeches would be found to forecast many great measures yet to be completed—measures which he knew were beyond the public opinion of the hour, but which he confidently believed would secure popular approval within the period of his own lifetime and by the aid of his own efforts.

Differing, as Garfield does, from the brilliant parliamentary leaders, it is not easy to find his counterpart anywhere in the record of American public life. He, perhaps, more nearly resembles Mr. Seward in his supreme faith in the all-conquering power of a principle. He had the love of learning and the patient industry of investigation to which John Quincy Adams owes his prominence and his Presidency. He had some of those ponderous elements of mind which distinguished Mr.

Webster, and which, indeed, in all our public life have left the great Massachusetts Senator without an intellectual peer.

In English parliamentary history, as in our own, the leaders in the House of Commons present points of essential difference from Garfield. But some of his methods recall the best features in the strong, independent course of Sir Robert Peel, to whom he had striking resemblances in the type of his mind and in the habit of his speech. He had all of Burke's love for the Sublime and the Beautiful, with, possibly, something of his superabundance. In his faith and his magnanimity, in his power of statement, in his subtle analysis, in his faultless logic, in his love of literature, in his wealth and world of illustration, one is reminded of that great English statesman of to-day, who, confronted with obstacles that will daunt any but the dauntless, reviled as bitterly by those whom he would relieve as by those whose supposed rights he is forced to invade, still labors with serene courage for the amelioration of Ireland and for the honor of the English name.

Garfield's nomination to the Presidency, while not anticipated, was not a surprise to the country. His prominence in Congress, his solid qualities, his

wide reputation, strengthened by his then recent election as Senator, kept him before the public as a man occupying the highest rank among those entitled to be called statesmen. It was not mere chance that brought him this high honor. "We must", says Mr. Emerson, "reckon success a constitutional trait. If Eric is in robust health and has slept well and is at the top of his condition, and thirty years old at his departure from Greenland, he will steer west and his ships will reach Newfoundland. But take Eric out and put in a stronger and bolder man, and the ships will sail six hundred, one thousand, fifteen hundred miles farther and reach Labrador and New England. There is no chance in results."

As a candidate, Garfield steadily grew in popular favor. He was met with a storm of detraction at the very hour of his nomination, and it continued with increasing volume and momentum until the close of his victorious campaign:

"No might nor greatness in mortality
Can censure 'scape; backwounding calumny
The whitest virtue strikes. What king so strong
Can tie the gall up in the slanderous tongue?"

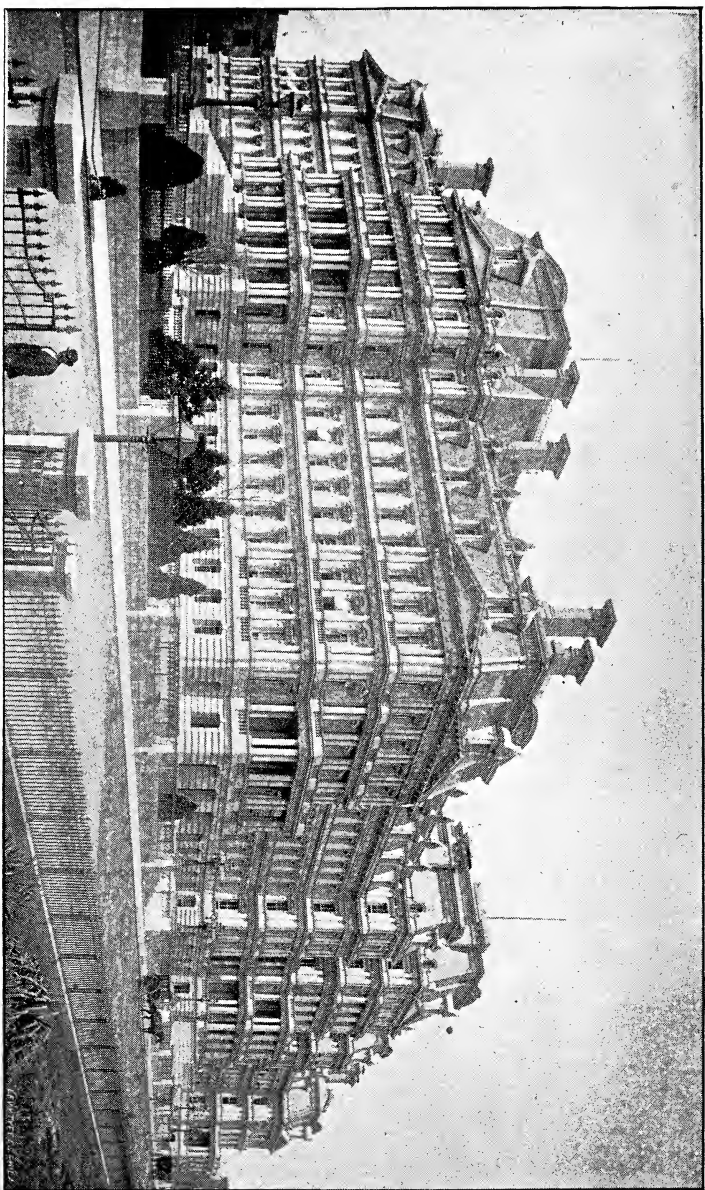
Under it all he was calm, and strong, and confident; never lost his self-possession, did no unwise act, spoke no hasty or ill-considered word. Indeed,

nothing in his whole life is more remarkable or more creditable than his bearing through those five full months of vituperation—a prolonged agony of trial to a sensitive man, a constant and cruel draft upon the powers of moral endurance. The great mass of these unjust imputations passed unnoticed, and with the general *debris* of the campaign fell into oblivion. But in a few instances the iron entered his soul, and he died with the injury unforgotten if not unforgiven.

One aspect of Garfield's candidacy was unprecedented. Never before, in the history of partisan contests in this country, had a successful Presidential candidate spoken freely on passing events and current issues. To attempt anything of the kind seemed novel, rash, and even desperate. The older class of voters recalled the unfortunate Alabama letter, in which Mr. Clay was supposed to have signed his political death-warrant. They remembered also the hot-tempered effusion by which General Scott lost a large share of popularity before his nomination, and the unfortunate speeches which rapidly consumed the remainder. The younger voters had seen Mr. Greeley, in a series of vigorous and original addresses, preparing the pathway for his own defeat. Unmindful of

these warnings, unheeding the advice of friends, Garfield spoke to large crowds as he journeyed to and from New York in August, to a great multitude in that city, to delegations and deputations of every kind that called at Mentor during the summer and autumn. With innumerable critics, watchful and eager to catch a phrase that might be turned into odium or ridicule, or a sentence that might be distorted to his own or his party's injury, Garfield did not trip or halt in any one of his seventy speeches. This seems all the more remarkable when it is remembered that he did not write what he was to say, and yet spoke with such consecutiveness of thought and such precision of phrase as to defy the accident of misreport and the malignity of misrepresentation.

In the beginning of his Presidential life Garfield's experience did not yield him pleasure or satisfaction. The duties that engross so large a portion of the President's time were distasteful to him, and were unfavorably contrasted with his legislative work. "I have been dealing all these years with ideas," he impatiently exclaimed one day, "and here I am dealing only with persons! I have been heretofore treating of the fundamental principles of government, and here I am considering all day



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whether A or B shall be appointed to this or that office." He was earnestly seeking some practical way of correcting the evils arising from the distribution of overgrown and unwieldy patronage—evils always appreciated and often discussed by him, but whose magnitude had been more deeply impressed upon his mind since his accession to the Presidency. Had he lived, a comprehensive improvement in the mode of appointment and in the tenure of office would have been proposed by him, and, with the aid of Congress, no doubt perfected.

But, while many of the executive duties were not grateful to him, he was assiduous and conscientious in their discharge. From the very outset he exhibited administrative talent of a high order. He grasped the helm of office with the hand of a master. Indeed, he constantly surprised many who were intimately associated with him in the Government, and especially those who had feared that he might be lacking in the executive faculty. His disposition of business was orderly and rapid. His power of analysis, and his skill in classification enabled him to dispatch a mass of detail with promptness and ease. His Cabinet meetings were admirably conducted. His clear presentation of official subjects, his well-considered suggestion of

topics for discussion, his quick decision when all had been heard, combined to show a thoroughness of mental training as rare as his natural ability and his facile adaptation to a new and enlarged field of labor.

With perfect comprehension of all the inheritances of the war, with a cool calculation of the obstacles in his way, impelled always by a generous enthusiasm, he conceived that much might be done by his administration towards restoring harmony between the different sections of the Union. He was anxious to go South and speak to the people. As early as April he had ineffectually endeavored to arrange for a trip to Nashville, whither he had been cordially invited, and he was again disappointed a few weeks later to find that he could not go to South Carolina to attend the centennial celebration of the victory of the Cowpens. But for the autumn he definitely counted on being present at three memorable assemblies in the South; the celebration at Yorktown, the opening of the Cotton Exposition at Atlanta, and the meeting of the Army of the Cumberland at Chattanooga. He was already turning over in his mind his address for each occasion, and the three taken together, he said to a friend, gave him the exact scope and

verge which he needed. At Yorktown he would have before him the associations of a hundred years that bound the South and the North in the sacred memory of a common danger and a common victory. At Atlanta he would present the material interests and the industrial development which appealed to the thrift and independence of every household, and which should unite the two sections by the instinct of self-interest and self-defense. At Chattanooga he would revive memories of the war only to show that after all its disaster and suffering, the country was stronger and greater, the Union rendered indissoluble, and the future, through the agony and blood of one generation, made brighter and better for all.

His ambition for the success of his Administration was high. With strong caution and conservatism in his nature, he was in no danger of attempting rash experiments or of resorting to the empiricism of statesmanship. But he believed that renewed and closer attention should be given to questions affecting the material interests and commercial prospects of fifty millions of people. He believed that our continental relations, extensive and undeveloped as they are, involved responsibility, and could be cultivated into profitable friend-

ship or be abandoned to harmful indifference or lasting enmity. He believed with equal confidence that an essential forerunner to a new era of National progress must be a feeling of contentment in every section of the Union, and a generous belief that the benefits and burdens of government would be common to all. Himself a conspicuous illustration of what ability and ambition may do under republican institutions, he loved his country with a passion of patriotic devotion, and every waking thought was given to her advancement. He was an American in all his aspirations, and he looked to the destiny and influence of the United States with the philosophic composure of Jefferson and the demonstrative confidence of John Adams.

The political events which disturbed the President's serenity for many weeks before that fateful day in July form an important chapter in his career, and, in his own judgment, involved questions of principle and of right which are vital to the constitutional administration of the Federal Government. It would be out of place here to speak the language of controversy; but the events referred to, however they may continue to be a source of contention with others, have become, so far as the name of

Garfield is involved, as much a matter of history as his heroism at Chickamauga or his illustrious service in the House. Detail is not needful, and personal antagonism shall not be rekindled by any word uttered to-day. The motives of those opposing him are not now to be adversely interpreted or their course harshly characterized. But of the dead President this is to be said, and said because his own speech is forever silenced, and he can be no more heard except through the fidelity and love of surviving friends. From the beginning to the end of the controversy he so much deplored, the President was never for one moment actuated by any motive of gain to himself or of loss to others. Least of all men did he harbor revenge, rarely did he even show resentment, and malice was not in his nature. He was congenially employed only in the exchange of good offices and the doing of kindly deeds.

There was not an hour, from the beginning of the trouble till the fatal shot entered his body, when the President would not gladly, for the sake of restoring harmony, have retraced any step he had taken, if such retracing had merely involved consequences personal to himself. The pride of consistency, or any supposed sense of humiliation that

might result from surrendering his position, had not a feather's weight with him. No man was ever less subject to such influences from within or from without. But after most anxious deliberation and the coolest survey of all the circumstances, he solemnly believed that the true prerogatives of the Executive were involved in the issue which had been raised, and that he would be unfaithful to his supreme obligation if he failed to maintain, in all their vigor, the constitutional rights and dignities of his great office. He believed this in all the convictions of conscience when in sound and vigorous health, and he believed it in his suffering and prostration in the last conscious thought which his weary mind bestowed on the transitory struggles of life.

More than this need not be said. Less than this could not be said. Justice to the dead, the highest obligation that devolves upon the living, demands the declaration that in all the bearings of the subject, actual or possible, the President was content in his mind, justified in his conscience, immovable in his conclusions.

The religious element in Garfield's character was deep and earnest. In his early youth he espoused the faith of the Disciples, a sect of the

great Baptist Communion. But the broadening tendency of his mind and his spirit of inquiry were early apparent, and carried him beyond the dogmas of sect and the restraints of association. In selecting his college he rejected Bethany, though presided over by Alexander Campbell, the greatest preacher of his church. His reasons were characteristic: First, that Bethany leaned too heavily towards slavery; and second, that being himself a Disciple and the son of Disciple parents, he had little acquaintance with people of other beliefs, and he thought it would make him more liberal, quoting his own words, both in his religious and general views, to go into a new circle and be under new influences.

The liberal tendency which he anticipated as the result of wider culture was fully realized. He was emancipated from mere sectarian belief, and with eager interest pushed his investigations in the direction of modern progressive thought. He followed with quickening step in the paths of exploration and speculation fearlessly trodden by Darwin, by Huxley, by Tyndall, and by other eminent scientists. His own church, binding its disciples by no formulated creed, but accepting the Old and New Testaments as the word of God, with

unbiased liberality of private interpretation, favored, if it did not stimulate, the spirit of investigation.

But however high Garfield reasoned of "fixed fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute," he was never separated from the Church of the Disciples in his affections and in his associations. For him it held the Ark of the Covenant. To him it was the gate of Heaven. The world of religious belief is full of solecisms and contradictions. A philosophic observer declares that men by the thousand will die in defense of a creed whose doctrines they do not comprehend and whose tenets they habitually violate. It is equally true that men by the thousand will cling to church organizations with instinctive and undying fidelity, when their belief in maturer years is radically different from that which inspired them as neophytes.

But after this range of speculation, and this latitude of doubt, Garfield came back always with freshness and delight to the simpler instincts of religious faith, which, earliest implanted, longest survive. Not many weeks before his assassination, walking on the banks of the Potomac with a friend, and conversing on those topics of personal religion, concerning which noble natures have an unconquerable reserve, he said that he

found the Lord's Prayer and the simple petitions learned in infancy infinitely restful to him, not merely in their stated repetition, but in their casual and frequent recall as he went about the daily duties of life. Certain texts of Scripture had a strong hold on his memory and his heart. He heard, while in Edinburgh some years ago, an eminent Scotch preacher who prefaced his sermon with reading the eighth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, which book had been the subject of careful study with Garfield during all his religious life. He was greatly impressed by the elocution of the preacher and declared that it had imparted a new and deeper meaning to the majestic utterance of St. Paul. He referred often in after years to that memorable service, and dwelt with exaltation of feeling upon the radiant promise and the assured hope with which the great apostle of the Gentiles was "persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord."

The crowning characteristics of General Garfield's religious opinions, as, indeed, of all his opin-

ions, was his liberality. In all things he had charity. Tolerance was of his nature. He respected in others the qualities which he possessed himself—sincerity of conviction and frankness of expression. With him the inquiry was not so much what a man believes, but does he believe it? The lines of his friendship and his confidence encircled men of every creed, and men of no creed, and to the end of his life, on his ever-lengthening list of friends, were to be found the names of a pious Catholic priest and of an honest-minded and generous-hearted free-thinker.

On the morning of Saturday, July 2, the President was a contented and happy man—not in an ordinary degree, but joyfully, almost boyishly happy. On his way to the railroad station, to which he drove slowly, in conscious enjoyment of the beautiful morning, with an unwonted sense of leisure and a keen anticipation of pleasure, his talk was all in the grateful and congratulatory vein. He felt that after four months of trial his Administration was strong in its grasp of affairs, strong in popular favor, and destined to grow stronger; that grave difficulties confronting him at his inauguration had been safely passed; the trouble lay behind him and not before him; that he was soon

to meet the wife whom he loved, now recovering from an illness which had but lately disquieted and at times almost unnerved him; that he was going to his *Alma Mater* to renew the most cherished associations of his young manhood, and to exchange greetings with those whose deepening interest had followed every step of his upward progress from the day he entered upon his college course until he had attained the loftiest elevation in the gift of his countrymen.

Surely if happiness can ever come from the honors or triumphs of this world, on that quiet July morning Garfield may well have been a happy man. No foreboding of evil haunted him; no premonition of danger clouded his sky. His terrible fate was upon him in an instant. One moment he stood erect, strong, confident in the year's stretching peacefully out before him. The next he lay wounded, bleeding, helpless, doomed to weary weeks of torture, to silence, and the grave.

Great in life, he was surpassingly great in death. For no cause, in the very frenzy of wantonness and wickedness, by the red hand of murder, he was thrust from the full tide of this world's interest, from its hopes, its aspirations, its victories, into the visible presence of death—and he did not quail.

Not alone for the one short moment in which, stunned and dazed he could give up life, hardly aware of its relinquishment, but through days of deadly languor, through weeks of agony, that was not less agony because silently borne, with clear sight and calm courage, he looked into his open grave. What blight and ruin met his anguished eyes, whose lips may tell—what brilliant, broken plans, what baffled, high ambitions, what sundering of strong, warm, manhood's friendships, what bitter rending of sweet household ties! Behind him a proud, expectant nation, a great host of sustaining friends, a cherished and happy mother, wearing the full, rich honors of her early toil and tears; the wife of his youth, whose whole life lay in his; the little boys not yet emerged from childhood's day of frolic; the fair young daughter; the sturdy sons just springing into closest companionship, claiming every day and every day rewarding a father's love and care; and in his heart the eager, rejoicing power to meet all demand. Before him, desolation and great darkness! And his soul was not shaken.

His countrymen were thrilled with instant, profound, and universal sympathy. Masterful in his mortal weakness, he became the centre of a nation's love; he was enshrined in the prayers of a

world. But all the love and all the sympathy could not share with him his suffering. He trod the wine-press alone. With unfaltering front he faced death. With unfailing tenderness he took leave of life. Above the demoniac hiss of the assassin's bullet he heard the voice of God. In simple resignation he bowed to the divine decree.

As the end drew near, his early craving for the sea returned. The stately mansion of power had been to him the wearisome hospital of pain, and he begged to be taken from its prison walls, from its oppressive, stifling air, from its homelessness and its hopelessness. Gently, silently, the love of a great people bore the pale sufferer to the longed-for healing of the sea, to live or die, as God should will, within sight of its heaving billows, within sound of its manifold voices. With wan, fevered face tenderly lifted to the cooling breeze, he looked out wistfully upon the ocean's changing wonders; on its far sails, whitening in the morning light; on its restless waves, rolling shoreward to break and die beneath the noonday sun; on the red clouds of evening, arching low to the horizon; on the serene and shining pathway of the stars. Let us think that his dying eyes read a mystic meaning which only the rapt and parting soul may know. Let us

believe that in the silence of the receding world he heard the great waves breaking on a farther shore, and felt already upon his wasted brow the breath of the eternal morning.

BLAINE'S SCHEME OF RECONSTRUCTION.

After the war he took a prominent part in the discussion of the reconstruction policy which occupied Congress for four or five years. One of the first and most difficult questions was whether the Representatives from the States recently in rebellion should be admitted on the basis of population or on that of legal voters. Mr. Blaine strongly urged that the population basis should be adopted, and submitted a constitutional amendment, providing as follows: "Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States, which shall be included within this Union according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by taking the whole number of persons, except those whose political rights or privileges are denied

or abridged by the constitution of any State on account of race or color.”

He advocated this plan because the other one suggested—that based on the number of voters—would be at variance with the basis adopted in the North. His eloquence gained the day, and the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution, which was subsequently adopted, embodied Mr. Blaine’s ideas.

The reconstruction bill was reported to the House by Thaddeus Stevens, chairman of the Committee on Reconstruction, on February 6, 1867. The plan proposed the division of the Southern States into five military districts, subordinating the civil administration entirely to the control of the military. Mr. Blaine heartily opposed the idea of military government, desiring to see the States re-established in their full powers. He, therefore, proposed an amendment providing that when any one of the Confederate States should assent to the fourteenth amendment of the Constitution and should establish equal and impartial suffrage without regard to race or color, and Congress should approve its action, it should be entitled to representation, and the military government should lapse.

NEW BASIS OF REPRESENTATION IN CONGRESS.

[Remarks of Mr. Blaine in the House of Representatives, January 8, 1866.]

MR. SPEAKER—Since the beginning of the present session we have had several propositions to amend the Federal Constitution with respect to the basis of representation in Congress. These propositions have differed somewhat in phrase, but they all embrace substantially the one idea of making suffrage, instead of population, the basis of apportioning representatives; in other words, to give to the States in future a representation proportioned to their voters instead of their inhabitants.

The effect contemplated and intended by this change is perfectly well understood, and on all hands frankly avowed. It is to deprive the lately rebellious States of the unfair advantage of a large representation in this House, based on their colored population, so long as that population shall be denied political rights by the legislation of those States. The proposed amendment would simply say to those States, that so long as they refuse to enfranchise their black population, they shall have no representation based on their numbers; but

admit them to civil and political rights, and they shall at once be counted to their advantage in the apportionment of representatives.

The direct object thus aimed at, as it respects the rebellious States, has been so generally approved that little thought seems to have been given to the incidental evils which the proposed Constitutional amendment would inflict on certain loyal States. As an abstract proposition no one will deny that population is the true basis of representation; for women, children, and other non-voting classes may have as vital an interest in the legislation of the country as those who actually deposit the ballot. Indeed, the very amendment we are discussing implies that population is the true basis, inasmuch as the exclusion of the black people of the South from political rights has suggested this indirectly coercive mode of securing those rights to them. Were the negroes to be enfranchised throughout the South to-day, no one would insist on the adoption of this amendment; and yet if the amendmet shall be incorporated in the Federal Constitution, its incidental evils will abide in the loyal States long after the direct evil which it aims to cure may have been eradicated in the Southern States.

If voters instead of population shall be made

the basis of representation certain results will follow, not fully appreciated perhaps by some who are now urgent for the change. I will confine my examination of these results to the free States. The ratio of voters to population varies widely in different sections, ranging from a minimum of *nineteen per cent.* to a maximum of *fifty-eight per cent.*; and the changes which this fact would work in the relative representation of certain States would be monstrous. For example, California has a population of 358,110, and Vermont 314,369, and each has three representatives on this floor to-day; but California cast 207,000 votes in electing her three representatives, and Vermont cast 87,000. Assuming voters as the basis of apportionment, and allowing to Vermont three representatives, California would be entitled to eight. The great State of Ohio, with nearly seven times the population of California, would have but little more than two and a-half times the number of representatives; and New York, with quite eleven times the population of California, would have in the new style of apportionment less than five times as many members of this House. California, it may be said, presents an extreme case, but no more so than will continually recur for the next century

under the stimulus to the emigration of young voters from the older States to the inviting fields of the Mississippi valley and the Pacific slope.

* * * * *

There is no need, Mr. Speaker, of precipitating this evil of inequality among States, in order to cure the evil complained of. The Constitution may be amended so as to prevent the one evil without involving others of greater magnitude, and I venture to express the belief that the proposition submitted by me this morning will, if adopted, secure the desired result. Let me briefly explain that proposition.

The Constitution of the United States, article one, section two, clause three, reads as follows to the first period:

“Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by (*adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons*).”

The portion which I have included in parentheses has become meaningless and nugatory by the adoption of the Constitutional amendment, which abolishes the distinction between “free persons” and “all other persons,” and, being thus a dead

letter, might as well be formally struck out. In its stead I propose to insert the words following, included in parenthesis, so that the clause as amended would read thus:

“Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by (taking the whole number of persons, except those to whom civil or political rights or privileges are denied or abridged by the Constitution or laws of any State on account of race or color).”

This is a very simple and very direct way, it seems to me, of reaching the desired result without embarrassment to any other question or interest. It leaves population, as heretofore, the basis of representation, does not disturb in any manner the harmonious relations of the loyal States, and it conclusively deprives the Southern States of all representation in Congress on account of the colored population, so long as those States may choose to abridge or deny to that population the political rights and privileges accorded to others.

[NOTE—Mr. Blaine's brief speech was the first argument made in the Thirty-ninth Congress against the plan of basing representation on voters.]

THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT AS A BASIS OF RECONSTRUCTION.

[Speech of Mr. Blaine at a Republican mass meeting in Skowhegan, Maine, August 29, 1866.]

FELLOW CITIZENS—The questions which seemed most pressing at the close of the war last year, and which for a time demanded the largest share of popular attention, related to the finances of the nation, to the adjustment of our currency, to the funding of our large public debt. These have since been overshadowed by the question of Reconstruction, or, rather, by the dispute which has ensued between the President and Congress as to the terms upon which the States lately in rebellion should be re-admitted to the right of representation in Congress, and to that full rehabilitation, as members of the Union, which for four years they struggled to be freed from.

At the outset it appeared as if the difference between the President and Congress, which rapidly ran into a decisive quarrel between the two, would prove a public calamity; but latterly it has seemed that this very divergence of views, this conflict of authority, will lead to a more radical and more lasting settlement of all the issues that grew out of

the war, than would have been reached if the President and Congress had hastily agreed upon the terms for re-admitting the Southern States. Conflicts in the moral world and conflicts in the political world often result in great good; and I am enough of an optimist to believe that the present struggle, based, as we must presume it to be, on an honest difference of opinion between the Executive and Legislative departments, will lead to a broader affirmation of human rights, a more equitable adjustment of the relations of the two sections, a more effective guaranty of the liberties and the rights of those who have so recently been emancipated from chattel slavery.

I think a great deal of valuable time and a great deal of useless effort have been expended in Congress upon abstract questions which really are of no value whatever in the final settlement of the grave problems now at issue. The *Congressional Globe* of the late session is laden down with discussions as to the exact present *status* of the late insurrectionary States, and the disputants have argued the question with all the zeal and all the ability of those ancient theologians who waxed warm over theses the very meaning of which is now forgotten, or, if remembered, makes no im-

pression whatever upon the creeds of the Christian world. Two great theories have been maintained respecting these States. The first, which is the foundation of President Johnson's theory of Reconstruction, is that the States were never out of the Union, that they never ceased to be members of the Union, that their rights under the Constitution remain unimpaired. The second, which may be called the Congressional basis of Reconstruction, as many present it, is that these States, if not out of the Union, have at least by their own acts of secession and rebellion lost their *Statehood*, if they be not, indeed, reduced to the condition of Territories; and it rests with Congress to determine whether they shall be re-admitted to representation in Senate and House, when they shall be re-admitted, and the terms upon which they shall be re-admitted.

I do not believe that the time is profitably spent which is given to debating these abstract questions, nor do I believe that, in the end, these theories affect, one way or the other, the actual legislation which has for the time become the basis of Reconstruction. The large majority of the members of Congress have taken no great part in these opposing speculative plans, but have rather agreed with

the position taken by Mr. Lincoln in the last speech he ever made, in which he gave a faint foreshadowing of his own views of Reconstruction. Alluding to this very question as to whether the States were still in the Union, or had placed themselves outside of it, Mr. Lincoln declared that "it is not practically a material issue," and that any discussion of it could have "no other effect than the mischievous one of dividing friends." In his own quaint way Mr. Lincoln defined what to him had "always seemed the exact status of the case." "We all agree," said he, "that the seceded States are out of their proper, practical relation with the Union, and that the sole object of the Government is to get them back into their proper, practical relation. I believe it is easier to do this without deciding, or even considering, whether these States have ever been out of the Union. The States finding themselves once more at home, it would seem immaterial to me to inquire whether they had ever been abroad."

Leaving out of sight all theories, therefore, Congress finally came to a decision which I think the overwhelming majority of voters in the loyal States will approve. We said, in effect, to these rebel States, that having withdrawn their representatives

from Congress and fought for four years to destroy the very existence of the National Government, we intend now to impose certain conditions upon them before they shall be re-admitted to representation in Senate and House. We said, in effect, to the Southern people, that we do not intend to be hard or exacting upon them; we do not intend to use the power that is in our hands to humiliate or degrade them. On the contrary, we intend to deal with them in a more magnanimous and generous manner than ever rebels were dealt with since civil government was established among men. We are willing to forget all that they have done; we cast out of our memories the lives that have been lost, the property that has been destroyed, the frightful distress that has been created, in consequence of their rebellion. It is better that it be all forgotten and in the bosom of the deep ocean buried. We do not deal with them in a spirit of revenge; we inflict nothing upon them for the past, beyond what is needful for the safety of the future—for it is only to the future that we now look.

In the first place, we ask that they will agree to certain changes in the Constitution of the United States; and, to begin with, we want them to unite with us in broadening the citizenship of the

republic. The slaves recently emancipated by proclamation, and subsequently by Constitutional amendment, have no civil status. They should be made citizens. We do not, by making them citizens, make them voters; we do not, in this Constitutional amendment, attempt to force them upon Southern white men as equals at the ballot-box; but we do intend that they shall be admitted to citizenship, that they shall have the protection of the laws, that they shall not, any more than the rebels shall, be deprived of life, of liberty, of property, *without due process of law*, and that "they shall not be denied the equal protection of the law." And, in making this extension of citizenship, we are not confining the breadth and scope of our efforts to the negro. It is for the white man as well. We intend to make citizenship National. Heretofore a man has been a citizen of the United States because he was a citizen of some one of the States; now we propose to reverse that and make him a citizen of any State where he chooses to reside, by defining in advance his national citizenship—and our amendment declares that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the States wherein

they reside." This amendment will prove a great beneficence to this generation and to all who shall succeed us in the rights of American citizenship; and we ask the people of the revolted States to consent to this condition as an antecedent step to their readmission to Congress with Senators and Representatives.

But that is not all we ask. The white people of the South have heretofore had, as we in the North have thought, an unfair advantage, in counting their property in the basis of representation against the flesh and blood of the North. They have always insisted that slaves were property—as much as horses or mules or lands—and they have been ready to fly into a passion and to commit violence against any one who disputed that proposition; and yet when our Federal Government was formed they insisted that three-fifths of all the persons that constituted this property should be included in the basis of representation in Congress. They have thus had an unfair advantage in every Congress that has assembled from the inauguration of George Washington to the outbreak of the Rebellion. The negroes are now free men, and instead of three-fifths entering into the basis of representation, the South will have the benefit of the whole mass, the

entire five-fifths; and yet the Southern white men do not propose to allow a single one of these millions of colored men to vote. This Constitutional Amendment which we are proposing does not command that the Southern States shall permit the colored man to vote. At what time they shall advance him to suffrage, in what manner they shall advance him to suffrage, this Constitutional Amendment leaves to their own discretion. It simply says that until they do clothe the colored man with the power to vote, they shall not include him in the basis of representation.

I ask you now, my fellow citizens, if that proposition is not an absolutely fair and equitable one to the white men of the South? I have never met a supporter of Mr. Lincoln's Administration, even of those most conservative, who was not ready to declare that the system of Reconstruction thus proposed is not only just to the white population of the South, but generous. In truth it consults the prejudices of the white population of the South even farther than is just to the colored men, all of whom were loyal to the Union, and many of whom fought for its preservation. A great many of our Northern people, a very large proportion, I know, of my own constituents in this Kennebec District,

find fault with the proposed Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, for the very reason that it does not directly confer suffrage upon the colored man. Our recent Republican State Convention adopted a resolution unanimously declaring that all men, without regard to race, creed, or color, should be declared equal in the civil and political rights; and I know that while I stand here urging the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment, I am asking them, in the once derided language of Mr. Webster, to "conquer their prejudices" and take the Fourteenth Amendment precisely as it is submitted for ratification.

Proceeding to the next provision of the Constitutional Amendment, we say, in effect, to these Southern men that we do not intend to prosecute them, or make any attempt to punish them. The war is over and we shall not disturb the peace now reigning, by any "bloody assizes" in the South. A practical amnesty exists, and those who took part in the rebellion are free from all danger of the law. But, at the same time, we do not intend, if we can help it, that the men who had been members of Congress, who had served in State Legislatures, who had been officers under the United States or any one of the States, and

took a solemn personal oath to obey and defend the Constitution and then forswore themselves and rushed into the rebellion, shall come back to the councils of the Nation until two-thirds of Congress shall declare that they may have that privilege. As for the great mass of the Southern men who went into the war, they are perfectly free to hold any office to which they may be chosen—just as free as Northern men—so far as this Constitutional Amendment affects them. We aim the exclusion only at the class who are special, conscious offenders, and the aggregate of this class is as nothing compared with the whole number who engaged in the rebellion. Careful calculation shows that these disabilities for civil service will not affect more than fourteen thousand citizens in the entire South, out of the millions that were engaged in insurrection.

We have still a fourth condition to impose upon the Southern States. The war for the preservation of the Union cost a vast sum of money. It was advanced largely by our own people, but in part was borrowed in Europe. All citizens who loaned to the Government in the hour of its distress took an honorable and patriotic risk; all foreigners who loaned us money trusted to a National honor that has never been tarnished; and the faith of the

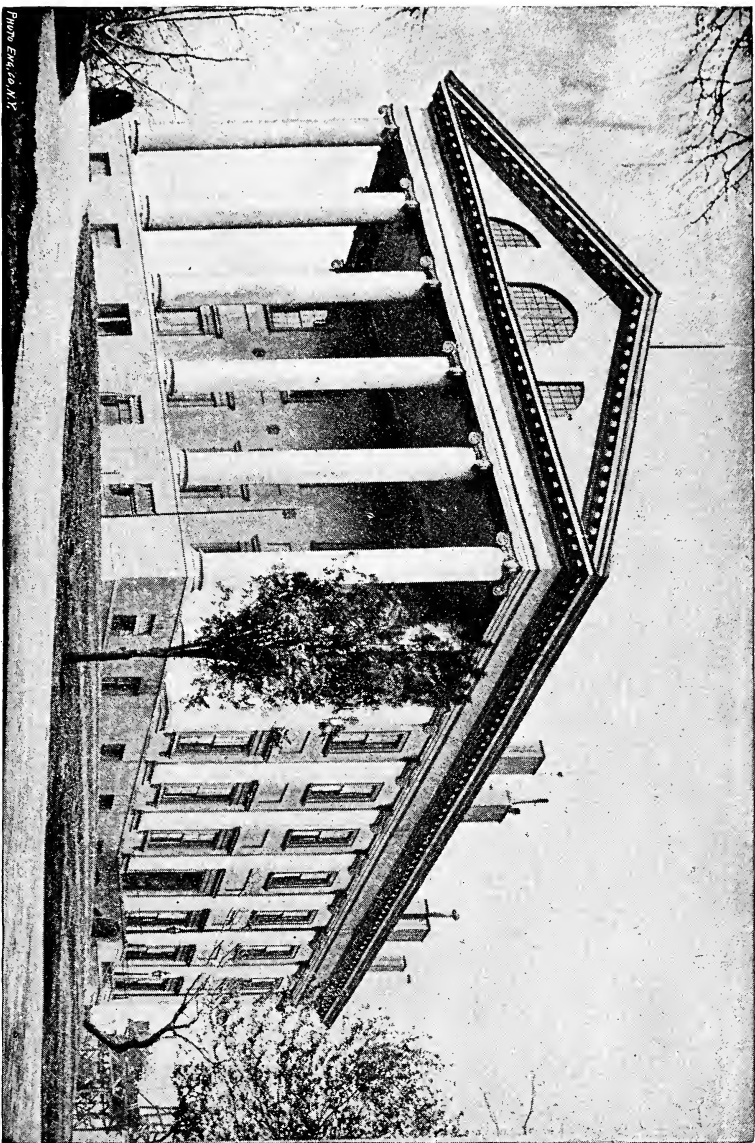


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Nation is pledged to the fair and strict repayment of both citizen and alien, on terms that are nominated in the bonds which each received. The loyal men who control Congress do not intend that this debt shall be left in such position that an adverse majority in the Senate and House may at any time withhold payment, or even threaten to do so; and therefore we bind up the rights of the public creditor in the organic law of the land, and declare that "the validity of the public debt shall never be questioned." More than that, a large amount of this debt was incurred in the payment of pensions and bounties for soldiers, and we throw around that, also, the muniments of the Constitution, declaring that it stands out and beyond the power of a majority in both Houses to change.

We are not yet through with these conditions for the Southern States. One or two more still remain. The Government of the Confederate States, so-called, issued bonds and incurred a public debt, and the separate States that composed the Confederacy did the same—all in support of the war against the Union. The people who advanced money on these bonds deserve to lose it. They deserve to lose it if they were citizens of the rebellious States; they still more deserve to lose it if,

as aliens, honorably bound not to aid in destroying our National life, they invested their money in these securities whose value was based upon the hope and the expectation of overthrowing the American Union. We now bind it down by a Constitutional Amendment, that "no State of this Union," or the United States, if that were possible to conceive, "shall ever pay any debt or obligation of any kind incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion."

One step farther, still. It was necessary for the safety of the Union to destroy the institution of slavery, as a war measure, justified by the law of nations—an act made perfect by the amended organic law of the republic. There may be some danger that, as years go by, the people of the South who were in rebellion, feeling the loss of their slaves and perhaps the poverty and hardship that resulted from that loss, will ask for some remuneration from the conquering Government. Aside from the injustice of the demand, the attempt to pay it might imperil the national debt, which is due by every obligation of honor, and, therefore, the Congress of the United States has deemed it wise to insert in the Constitution that "no claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave

shall ever be paid by any State government or by the National Government, but shall forever be held to be illegal and void."

And then we asked, although it was, perhaps, implied without the asking, that Congress shall reserve to itself, as part of this amendment to the organic law of the Republic, the power "to enforce by appropriate legislation" every one of its provisions.

These several provisions which I have thus somewhat elaborately detailed, constitute the proposed Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. This could only be proposed to the States, as you well know, by two-thirds of each branch of Congress. As a matter of fact, it received three-fourths in the Senate and even a larger proportion in the House—the vote in the Senate being 33 *ayes* to 11 *noes*, and in the House 120 *ayes* to 32 *noes*. It is now before the States of this Union for ratification or rejection, and the one important thing for the people of Maine to look to is the election of a Legislature which will ratify. All the loyal States, together, ratifying it will not embody it in the Constitution. The theory has been maintained by some of the more extreme men of the Republican party that three-fourths of

the States required by the Constitution to ratify the amendment should, under present circumstances, properly mean three-fourths of the loyal States; but the general, and I think the wiser, conclusion of the party has been to adhere to the ratification of three-fourths of all the States of the Union, as required by the letter of the Constitution. If we secure three-fourths of all the States the validity of the amendment can never be questioned; but if we should attempt to proceed on the theory that three-fourths of the loyal States are all that are required, we might find great trouble in the future when the possible changes of political fortune should bring our opponents into power.

Discarding this theory, and adhering to the old ways, the situation stands thus, viz.: The Southern States uniting with the Northern States in incorporating in the Constitution the provisions I have set before you, shall be re-admitted to all their former rights of representation in Congress, and shall be reclothed with all the power of a State in the Union. I do not mean that Congress has given a specific pledge to that effect, but I do mean that such is the general understanding—an understanding already made explicit and practical by the admission of Tennessee immediately after her rat-

ification of the Fourteenth Amendment. The Legislature of that State was in session when the Amendment was finally passed by Congress, and ratified it without delay. Immediately thereafter, Congress, by an overwhelming vote, larger, I believe, in both branches than that by which the Amendment itself was adopted, re-admitted Tennessee to all her ancient rights in the Union. It is needless, of course, to say that Congress stands ready to treat in the same manner any other Southern State which is ready to follow the example of Tennessee. It is not improbable, therefore, if wise councils prevail throughout the South, that the entire Union will be restored before the expiration of the Thirty-ninth Congress, and Representatives will be admitted as soon as the new apportionment, consequent upon the new basis of representation, can be completed.

At the same time, it is only fair to state that if the more extreme of the Secession States shall refuse to accept the conditions now offered, Congress will not stand still and wait the processes of delay and postponement which certain Southern leaders think may wear out the patience of the North and carry this whole question into the Presidential election two years hence. A large proportion of the

House of Representatives and of the Senate desired to make more stringent conditions than are contained in the Fourteenth Amendment. The Journals of both branches of Congress will show how many radical provisions were defeated, and if now, in turn, the more conservative provisions that are submitted shall be defeated in the South, the authors of the radical policy will gain great prestige and influence in the councils of the Nation. There are many men who believe that we do a wrong, not only to the colored man, but to the future of the country, by declining to exact suffrage for him as one of the conditions of Reconstruction. But the more moderate policy prevailed, and the question is left to the wisdom and sound judgment of the leading race in the South, with a penalty of decreased representation, which in my judgment will in time force the South to concede suffrage to the colored man. Perhaps a concession gained in that way may prove to be stronger and more securely fortified than a direct and absolute condition imposed by Congress.

But these are all speculations. The actual and practical duty before us is to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment. The people of the North desire a complete restoration of the Union; commercial,

financial and manufacturing interests demand it; our safety at home, our prestige abroad, demand it. The Democratic party and the South, which are in fact identical, misrepresent the actual condition of affairs when they declare that the Republicans are bent on keeping the Southern States out of the Union. We have given the best proof of our own sincerity, by already admitting one of them, and by laying down the moderate conditions upon which we propose to admit them all. But I beg you, I beg the Republicans of Maine, who constitute the great majority of the entire people of our State, not to be driven into any surrender of the position which demands of the Southern States that they shall give us security for the future. Indemnity for the past we cannot exact from them: they cannot bring back the dead that sleep in honored graves, they cannot repay us the thousands of millions of money that have been sacrificed in the war to retain them in the Union. But in the name of the sacred dead, and as a security for wasted treasure, we ask that these States shall be so bound by obligations of duty and of honor, that they cannot again disturb the integrity of the Union, or again subject the loyal States to costly sacrifice of blood and to the destruction of the National resources.

In 1867, while he was absent in Europe, the theory of paying the public debt in greenbacks was started in Ohio by Mr. Pendleton, and in Massachusetts by General Butler. Mr. Blaine boldly put himself on the side of the credit of the nation. The payment of the bonds in greenbacks was coupled with a theory of creating a large issue of paper money to relieve financial distresses. Mr. Blaine also opposed this scheme vigorously, and in November, 1867, he expressed his views thus freely on the finance question:

NATIONAL HONOR IN THE PAYMENT OF THE NATIONAL DEBT.

[Speech of Mr. Blaine in the House of Representatives November 26, 1867, the House being in Committee of the Whole on the State of the Union.]

MR. CHAIRMAN—Within the past few months, some erroneous and mischievous views have been put forward in regard to the nature of the public obligation imposed by the debt of the United States. Without stopping to notice the lesser lights of the new doctrine, and not caring to analyze the various forms of repudiation suggested from irresponsible sources throughout the country, I propose to review, as briefly as may be, the position contemporaneously assumed by two able and distinguished gentle-

men—the one from the West, the other from the East—the one the late candidate of the Democratic party for the Vice-Presidency—[Mr. Pendleton, of Ohio]—the other a prominent member of this House from one of the strongest Republican districts of the State of Massachusetts [Gen. Butler].

The position of these gentlemen I understand to be simply this: *that the principal of the United States bonds, known as the five-twenties, may be fairly and legally paid in paper currency by the Government after the expiration of five years from the date of issue.*

A brief review of the origin of the five-twenty bonds will demonstrate, I think, that this position is in contravention of the honor and good faith of the National Government; that it is hostile to the spirit and the letter of the law; that it contemptuously ignores the common understanding between borrower and lender at the time the loan was negotiated; and that finally, even if such mode of payment were honorable and practicable, it would prove disastrous to the financial interests of the Government and the general prosperity of the country. I crave the attention and the indulgence of the House while I recapitulate the essential facts in support of my assertion.

The issue of the five-twenty bonds was originally authorized by the act of February 25, 1862, which provided for the large amount of \$500,000,000. It is this series which was successfully disposed of by Jay Cooke & Co. in 1863, and of which a great proportion was subsequently purchased by foreign capitalists. It will be borne in mind that up to that time in all the loan bills passed by Congress not one word had ever been said in regard to coin payment either of bond or coupon; and yet it will be equally borne in mind that coin payment, both of the principal and interest of the public debt, has been the invariable rule from the foundation of the Government. No instance to the contrary can be found in our history. In the pithy language of Nathaniel Macon, "our Government was a hard-money Government, founded by hard-money men, and its debts were hard-money debts."

It will be still further borne in mind that when the bill authorizing the original issue of five-twenties was under discussion in Congress no man of any party, either in the Senate or the House, ever intimated that those bonds were to be paid in any thing else than gold or silver. The issue of legal-tender notes of contemporaneous origin was regarded as a temporary expedient, forced upon us

by the cruel necessities and demands of war, and it was universally conceded that the specie basis was to be resumed long before the bonds should mature for payment. And in order that the public creditor might have the amplest assurance *of the payment of both principal and interest in coin* it was specially enacted that all duties on imports should be paid in coin, and the amount thus raised was distinctly pledged, not only to the payment of the interest in coin, but to the formation of a sinking fund for the ultimate redemption of the principal in coin. This provision is so important that I quote it entire. After providing that the duties shall be paid in coin, the act devotes the amount so collected to the following specific purposes:

“First, To the payment in coin of the interest on the bonds of the United States.

“Second, To the purchase or payment of one per cent. of the entire debt of the United States, to be made within each fiscal year after the first day of July, 1862, which is to be set apart as a sinking fund, and the interest of which shall be in like manner applied to the purchase or payment of the public debt, as the Secretary of the Treasury shall from time to time direct.”

Much carping and criticism have been expended on the second clause of this provision, mainly by those who seem desirous of wresting and distorting its plain and obvious meaning. Brushing aside

all fine-spun construction and cunning fallacy, it is manifest that the sinking-fund herein authorized was primarily to be formed from coin, and that it was only to be invested and re-invested in securities whose interest was equally pledged in coin, that this process was not to be confined to any specific number of years, but was limited only by the amount and the duration of the debt which was ultimately to be redeemed by the sinking-fund thus constituted. The sinking-fund was thus to receive an annual increment *in coin* amounting to the one-hundredth part of the entire debt of the Government; and this increment was to be invested only in securities which would yield *coin* interest for the further increment of the fund. It would be difficult to conceive how the language of an enactment could more distinctly recognize and provide for the ultimate coin payment of the entire bonded debt of the nation. Instead of the Government having the right at this late day to change its coin obligation into one of paper, it seems to me that the public creditors could with far more consistency allege that the Government had not kept faith with them by failing to provide the sinking-fund which was guaranteed at the outset as one of the special securities of the loan.

The declarations in Congress when the measure was under consideration were numerous and specific. Indeed, no other possible mode of payment was even hinted at, and Mr. Stevens, then chairman of the Ways and Means, was emphatic and repeated in his assertions that the bonds were *redeemable in coin*. He stated this fact no less than three times in his speech of February 6, 1862, giving it all the prominence and emphasis that iteration and reiteration could impart. He spoke of the "redemption in gold in twenty years" as one of the special inducements for capitalists to invest, and he gave, in every form of words, the sanction of his influential position and great name, to the maintenance of the coin standard in the payment of the bonds.

It may astonish even the gentleman from Pennsylvania himself to be reminded that within less than three years from the date of these declarations he asserted on this floor—referring to the fifty-two bonds—that "*it is just as clear as any thing is clear that the interest is payable in gold, but the principal in lawful money.*" He made this startling statement in answer to a question addressed to him by my honorable friend from Ohio [Mr. Spalding], and the gentleman from Massachusetts has quoted

it in his argument on this question as though it had been made when the five-twenty bill was originally introduced, and was to be taken as the authorized opinion of the Ways and Means Committee at that time. I have already shown that the gentleman from Pennsylvania was a firm advocate of coin payment, and that a considerable period had elapsed before he experienced his marvelous change of opinion on this question. But it is due to the gentleman from Pennsylvania to say that, late as he was in this declaration, he was in advance of other gentlemen who have since figured prominently as advocates of the doctrine. Should this scheme of repudiation ever succeed, it is but just to give the gentleman from Pennsylvania the honor of first proposing it. He announced it on this floor while yet the gentleman from Massachusetts was doing honorable service on the tented field, and while Mr. Pendleton was still adhering to those hard-money theories of which he was a conspicuous defender during his service in this House.

I was stating that while the original five-twenty bill was pending the declaration that the bonds were redeemable in coin was constantly repeated. It was the ground assumed by every member of the Committee of Ways and Means, so far as the

record shows, and it was likewise the ground taken by the Finance Committee of the Senate, Mr. Fessenden and other members being on record in many ways to that effect. While so many gentlemen in both branches of Congress were repeating that these bonds were redeemable in coin, it is a significant circumstance, as already intimated, that no one ventured the opposite opinion. The universality of the understanding at that time is that which renders a different construction now so reprehensible. Mr. Pendleton was present in his seat during the whole discussion of the measure, and he was an active and frequent participant therein. Then was his time to have enunciated his scheme of greenback payment if he ever intended it in good faith. As a gentleman of candor, however, I am sure he will confess that he never dreamed of such an idea till long after the bonds were purchased by the people, and possibly not until some prospect of party advantage lured him to the adoption of a theory which is equally at war with the letter of the law and with sound principles of finance.

After the bill became a law Mr. Chase, the Secretary of the Treasury, proceeded to place the loan formally on the market, and following the

uniform previous practice of the Government, and especially adopting the language used by Mr. Stevens, and other gentlemen in both branches of Congress, he officially proclaimed through the loan agents of the Government that the five-twenty bonds were "*a six per cent. loan, the interest and principal payable in coin.*" It was on this basis, with this understanding, with this public proclamation, that the people were asked to subscribe to the loan. They had the assurance of an unbroken practice on the part of the Government, rendered still more significant by the provision for a sinking-fund in coin; they had the general assurance of both branches of Congress, especially expressed through the appropriate channels of the chairman of Finance in the Senate and the chairman of Ways and Means in the House, and further and finally enforced by a distinct declaration to that effect by the public advertisement proposing the loan to the people, issued by the authority of the Secretary of the Treasury. If anything could constitute an honorable contract between borrower and lender—between Government and people—then was it a contract that the five-twenty bonds should be redeemed in coin.

I have been thus minute, and possibly tedious, in

regard to the facts attending the issue of the first series of five-twenties because in effect that established the rule for all subsequent issues. The principle laid down so clearly in the proposal for the first loan was steadily adhered to afterward. It is quite true that the Chairman of Ways and Means [Mr. Stevens], as I have already said, changed his ground on the question, but he failed to influence Congress, notwithstanding his parade of terrible figures showing the utter impossibility of ever paying coin interest, to say nothing of coin principal. The gentleman can recall his statistics with amusement, if not with advantage, from that grave of unfulfilled prophecies to which he, in common with the rest of us, have sent many baseless predictions.

The next loan bill passed by Congress was that of March 3, 1863, authorizing the borrowing of \$900,000,000. This is commonly known as the ten-forty act, and it contains the special provision that both principal and interest shall be payable in coin. But this provision was never inserted by way of discrimination against the five-twenties, implying that they were to be paid in paper currency. Its origin palpably discredits any such inference. It was moved as an amendment by Mr. Thomas of

Massachusetts, and it was moved to meet and repeal the first covert insinuation that any bond of the United States was redeemable in any thing else than coin. The chairman of Ways and Means, in apparent forgetfulness of his declaration the preceding year, had for the first time intimated that the principal of United States bonds was payable in paper money, and the amendment of Mr. Thomas, as the discussion reported in the *Globe* clearly discloses, was intended as a sharp protest against this heresy of the gentleman from Pennsylvania, and as such it was adopted by the House by a majority so overwhelming that its opponents did not call for a division. During the discussion, Mr. Horton of Ohio, a distinguished member of the Ways and Means, and a gentleman of very high character in every respect, said:

"I wish to state here that the Committee of Ways and Means, in framing this bill, never dreamed that these twenty-year bonds were to be payable in any thing other than coin until the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Stevens] told it yesterday upon the floor of the House."

In this connection I desire the special attention of the House to one fact of conclusive import, and it is this: At the time this ten-forty loan bill was passed, March 3, 1863, only \$25,000,000 of the five-twenty loan, authorized the year before, had been disposed

of. It was in the succeeding summer and autumn of 1863, especially after the triumph of the Union arms at Vicksburg and Gettysburg, that those marvellous sales of \$500,000,000 were effected through the Government agency of Jay Cooke & Co. And yet, the gentleman from Massachusetts would have us believe that the people subscribed for a loan of \$500,000,000 that was payable in five years in paper currency, when another loan, for a larger amount, to run forty years, expressly payable in coin, was already authorized and about to be put on the market. Such a conclusion cannot be reconciled even with the common sanity, to say nothing of the proverbial shrewdness, of those who invested their money in the five-twenty loan. Every one can see, sir, that not one dollar of the five-twenty loan could have been disposed of on the understanding that the bonds were redeemable in currency, while another loan for a longer period, possibly at the same rate of interest, for the bill so allowed, and absolutely redeemable in coin, was already authorized, and immediately to be offered to the public.

The next loan bill in the order of time was the act of March 3, 1864, which was merely supplementary to the ten-forty bill, whose history I have

just reviewed. It covered the amount of \$200,000,000, and, like the bill to which it formed a supplement, it provided for both interest and principal to be paid in coin. Under this bill more than one hundred and seventy-five million dollars were negotiated, partly in ten-forties, and partly in five-twenties; by far the greater part in the former. But as some five-twenties were negotiated under it; the gentleman from Massachusetts, even on the line of logic which he has sought to travel, will be compelled to acknowledge that they were payable in coin, and hence, according to his theory, some of the five-twenties are redeemable in coin and some in paper—a distinction which has never yet been proclaimed, and the equity of which would hardly be apparent to the holders of the same description of bonds—identical in phrase, and differing only in the subordinate and immaterial circumstance of date.

The last loan bill to which I need specially refer is that of June 30, 1864, under the provisions of which the five-twenties bearing that date were issued. The seven-thirties, authorized by the same act, as well as by the subsequent acts of January 28 and March 3, 1865, were convertible into five-twenties of the same tenor and description with

those whose issue was directly authorized; so that, in reviewing the history of the loan bill of June 30, 1864, I shall, in effect, close the narrative of Congressional proceedings in regard to five-twenty bonds. The history of that bill shall be brief. It was discussed in its various provisions very elaborately in both branches of Congress. As reported from the Ways and Means Committee it was worded like all previous bonds, promising to pay so many dollars to the holder, without specifying that they were to be anything else than coin dollars, in which United States bonds had always been paid. Toward the close of the discussion Mr. Brooks, of New York, then, as now, a member of this House, moved to insert an amendment providing especially that the bonds should be "*payable in coin.*" Mr. Brooks was answered by Mr. Hooper, of Massachusetts, on behalf of the Ways and Means Committee, as follows:

"The bill of last year, the \$900,000,000 bill, contained these words, but it was not deemed necessary or considered expedient to insert them in this bill. I will send to the desk and ask to have read, as a part of my reply to the gentleman from New York, a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury giving his views upon this point."

The Clerk read as follows from Secretary Chase's letter dated May 18, 1864:

"It has been the constant usage of the Department to redeem all coupon and registered bonds, forming part of the

funded or permanent debt of the United States, in coin, and this usage has not been deviated from during my administration of its affairs.

"The five-twenty sixes, payable twenty years from date, though redeemable after five years, are considered as belonging to the funded or permanent debt, and so also are the twenty years sixes, into which the three years seventy-three notes are convertible. These bonds, therefore, according to the usage of the Government, are payable in coin."

Apparently satisfied with this statement, Mr. Brooks withdrew his amendment, regarding the point as conclusively settled I suppose, not only by the uniform practice of the Government, but by the special declaration of the Secretary of the Treasury, who immediately afterward proceeded on the basis of that letter to put the bonds on the market. Mr. Hooper stated the case well when he said it was "not deemed necessary or considered expedient" to insert coin payment in this bill; "not necessary," for the practice of the Government, and the assurance of the Treasury Department in its advertisements in proposing for loans, conclusively settled the point; and not "considered expedient," because to specially insert coin payment in all the loan bills except that of February 25, 1862, under which \$500,000,000 of five-twenties had been sold, might, in the end, by the *exclusio unius*, give some shadow of ground for the

mischievous and groundless inference which is now sought to be drawn.

We thus find that the voice of Congress has been uniform and consistent in support of the principle of paying the bonded debt in coin. No vote in Congress, even implying the opposite theory, has ever been given; even the weighty influence and conceded ability of the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania failing to carry with him any support whatever when he made his surprising and unprecedented change on this question. But the public creditors did not rely solely on the declarations of leading men of Congress in regard to coin payment, nor did they rest wholly on the past practice and the good faith of the Government. They had, in addition to both these strong grounds of confidence and assurance, the more direct and explicit guaranty of the Treasury Department, the authorized agent of the Government, speaking *ex cathedra*, with the knowledge and assent of Congress.

I have already quoted Secretary Chase's significant declarations in his letters and his public proposals for loans, and I have now to quote one of his equally significant acts. At the close of 1862 the twenty-year loan of 1842, amounting to nearly three million dollars, fell due. Nothing was said

in that loan about coin payment, and thus a grand opportunity was afforded to test the theory of paper payment. Circumstances all conspired to favor such a policy if it could be honorably adopted. Gold was at a high premium, and the Government was passing through the darkest and most doubtful hours of the whole struggle. Could there have been even a decent pretext to pay the debt in paper currency the temptation was surely great enough to resort to it, if not fully to justify it. But in the face of all the adverse circumstances; with gold very high, and daily rising; with expenses enormous and daily increasing; with resources already embarrassed and daily growing more so, and with a military situation rendered well-nigh desperate by months of almost unbroken disaster, Secretary Chase decided that the faith of the Government demanded that its funded debt, falling due no matter when and owned by no matter whom, must be paid in coin. *And it was paid in coin*; and no voice but the voice of approval was raised in either branch of Congress. The course of Secretary Chase was not only honorable to himself and the country, but it was in the highest degree wise merely from the standpoint of worldly wisdom; for it created so profound a confidence in the good

faith of our Government that it aided us incalculably in the negotiation of all our great loans for the war. When the Government paid its debt to the uttermost farthing at such a time capitalists at once argued that there never could come a crisis when any evasion of public obligation would be resorted to. It has been reserved for the gentleman from Massachusetts, and the gentleman from Ohio, and the gentleman from Pennsylvania, to propose that our Government should adopt a policy in the sunshine and prosperity of peace which it scorned to resort to in the storms and adversities of war.

The course of Secretary Chase in guarantying coin payment on all bonds of the United States was followed by his successors, Secretary Fessenden and Secretary McCulloch. The words of Mr. Fessenden are entitled to great weight in the premises, for he had been Chairman of Finance in the Senate during the passage of all the loan bills, had elaborately discussed them in turn, and had, as largely as any single member in either branch of Congress, shaped their provisions. His views on the question at issue may be briefly presented by the following extract from his official report made to Congress in December, 1864:

"Though forced to resort to the issue of paper for the time, the idea of a specie basis was not lost sight of, as the

payment of interest on long loans in coin was amply secured. And though in several of the acts authorizing the issue of bonds at long periods payment of the principal at maturity in coin is not specifically provided, the omission, it is believed, was accidental, *as there could have been no intention to make a distinction between the different classes of securities in this regard.*"

It will be noted that this declaration of Mr. Fessenden, made in his official report, was at the very time of the negotiation of the five-twenties of 1864, and preceded the large sale of seven-thirties which were convertible into five-twenties. So that in effect it was an additional guaranty of coin payment on the part of the Government, operating at once as the condition and the inducement of the loan.

It is well known that Secretary McCulloch entertains precisely the same opinions that were so freely expressed by Messrs. Chase and Fessenden, and he placed himself on record on the question by his letter to L. P. Morton & Co., of New York, wherein he says, under date of November 15, 1866:

"I regard, as did also my predecessors, all bonds of the United States as payable in coin. The bonds which have matured since the suspension of specie payments have been so paid, and I have no doubt that the same will be true with all others. This being, as I understand it to be, the established policy of the Government, the five-twenty bonds of 1862 will either be called in at the expiration of five years

from their date and paid in coin, or be permitted to run until the Government is prepared to pay them in coin."

In view of the uniform declarations of the Treasury Department, made through official reports, through public proposals for loans, and through personal letters of assurance, all guarantying coin payment of the five-twenty bonds, I submit that the Government is bound thereto even if there were no other obligation expressed or implied. These official and unofficial promulgations from the Treasury Department were made with the full knowledge of Congress, and without the slightest expression of dissent on the part of that body. Had Congress not believed or intended that the five-twenty bonds were to be paid in coin the Secretary should not have been allowed with its evident assent so to advertise; and for Congress, after this significant permission and warrant to step forward at this late day and declare itself not bound by the conditions published by the Secretary is simply to place the United States Government in the position of a man playing a "confidence game", in which the Treasury Department and Congress are the confederate knaves, and the whole mass of bondholders the unfortunate victims.

But now, Mr. Chairman, suppose, for the sake

of argument, we admit that the Government may fairly and legally pay the five-twenty bonds in paper currency, what then? I ask the gentleman from Massachusetts to tell us, what then? It is easy, I know, to issue as many greenbacks as will pay the maturing bonds, regardless of the effect upon the inflation of prices and the general derangement of business. Five hundred millions of the five-twenties are now payable, and according to the mode suggested all we have to do is to set the printing-presses in motion, and "so long as rags and lampblack hold out" we need have no embarrassment about paying our National debt. But the ugly question recurs, -What are you going to do with the greenbacks thus put afloat? Five hundred millions this year, and eleven hundred millions more on this theory of payment by the year 1872, so that within a period of four or five years we would have added to our paper money the trifling inflation of \$1,600,000,000.

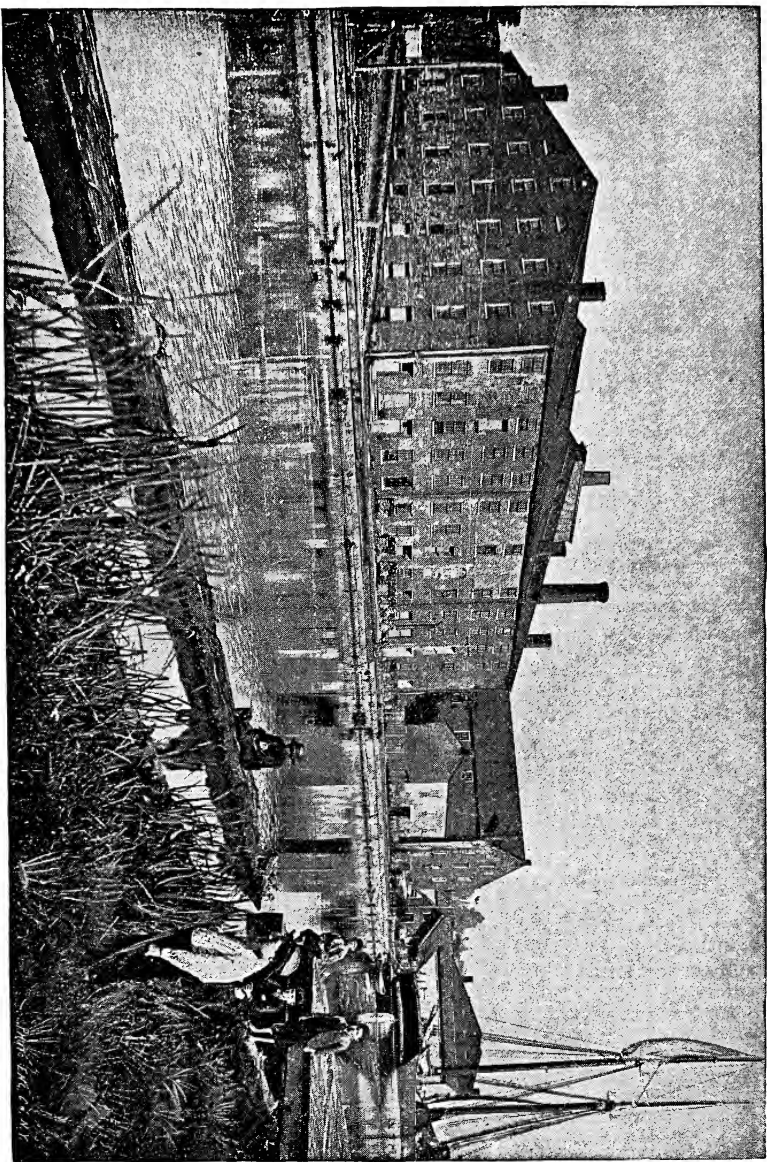
Payment of the five-twenty bonds in paper currency involves, therefore, a limitless issue of greenbacks, with attendant evils of great magnitude. The worst evil of the whole is the delusion which calls this a payment at all. It is no payment in any proper sense, for it neither gives the creditor

what he is entitled to, nor does it release the debtor from subsequent responsibility. You may get rid of the five-twenty by issuing the greenback, but how will you get rid of the greenback except by paying coin? The only escape from ultimate payment of coin is to declare that as a nation we permanently and finally renounce all idea of ever attaining a specie standard; that we launch ourselves upon an ocean of paper money, without shore or sounding, with no rudder to guide us and no compass to steer by. This is precisely what is involved if we adopt this mischievous suggestion of "a new way to pay old debts." Our fate in attempting such a course may be easily read in the history of similar follies both in Europe and in our own country. Prostration of credit, financial disaster, wide-spread distress among all classes of the community, would form the closing scenes in our career of gratuitous folly and national dishonor. From such an abyss of sorrow and humiliation it would be a painful and toilsome effort to regain as sound a position in our finances as we are asked voluntarily to abandon to-day.

Early in his senatorial career the currency question, which he had already discussed in the House, came up. The Senate had under consideration the bill originated by Mr. Bland in the House of Representatives, providing for the coinage of silver dollars of $412\frac{1}{2}$ grains, the same to be legal tender. To this measure Mr. Blaine expressed strong opposition, although many of his party associates favored it. He regarded that it was grossly unjust to coin a dollar, of such a weight, containing only ninety or ninety-two cents worth of silver and make it a legal tender for debts contracted to be paid in dollars of one hundred cents. Seeing that the bill was bound to pass, he strove to amend it so as to provide for a dollar of four hundred and twenty-five grains. In support of this amendment he made the following speech in the United States Senate, February 7, 1878:

REMONETIZATION OF SILVER.

MR. PRESIDENT—The discussion on the question of remonetizing silver has been prolonged and exhaustive. I may not expect to add much to its value, but I promise not to add much to its length. I shall endeavor to consider facts rather than theories, to state conclusions rather than arguments.



THE OLD LIBBY PRISON, RICHMOND, VA.



I believe gold and silver coin to be the money of the Constitution—indeed, the money of the American people anterior to the Constitution, money which the organic law of the Republic recognized as independent of its own existence. No power was conferred on Congress to declare that either metal should not be money. Congress has therefore, in my judgment, no more power to demonetize silver than to demonetize gold; no more power to demonetize either than to demonetize both. In this statement I am but repeating the weighty dictum of the first of Constitutional lawyers. “I am certainly of opinion,” said Mr. Webster, “that gold and silver, at rates fixed by Congress, constitute the legal standard of value in this country, and that neither Congress nor any State *has authority to establish any other standard or to displace this standard.*” Few persons can be found, I apprehend, who will maintain that Congress possesses the power to demonetize both gold and silver, or that Congress could be justified in prohibiting the coinage of both; and yet in logic and legal construction it would be difficult to show where and why the power of Congress over silver is greater than over gold—greater over either than over both. If, there-

fore, silver has been demonetized, I am in favor of remonetizing it. If its coinage has been prohibited, I am in favor of ordering it to be resumed. If it has been restricted, I am in favor of ordering it to be enlarged.

What power, then, has Congress over gold and silver? It has the exclusive power to coin them; the exclusive power to regulate their value,—very great, very wise, very necessary powers, for the discrete exercise of which a critical occasion has now arisen. However men may differ about causes and processes, all will admit that within a few years a great disturbance has taken place in the relative values of gold and silver, and that silver is worth less or gold is worth more in the money markets of the world in 1878 than in 1873, when the further coinage of silver dollars was prohibited in this country. To remonetize it now as though essential conditions had not changed, is willfully and blindly to deceive ourselves. If our demonetization were the only cause for the decline in the value of silver, then remonetization would be its proper and effectual cure. But other causes, beyond our control, have been far more potentially operative than the simple fact that Congress prohibited its further coinage. As legislators

we are bound to take cognizance of these causes. The demonetization of silver in the German Empire and the consequent partial, or well-nigh complete, suspension of coinage in the governments of the Latin Union, have been the leading causes for the rapid decline in the value of silver. I do not think the over-supply of silver has had, in comparison with these other causes, an appreciable influence in the decline of its value, because its over-supply with respect to gold in these later years has not been so great as was the over-supply of gold with respect to silver for many years after the mines of California and Australia were opened; and the over-supply of gold from those rich resources did not affect the relative positions and uses of the two metals in any European country.

I believe then, if Germany were to remonetize silver and the kingdoms and states of the Latin Union were to reopen their mints, silver would at once resume its former relation with gold. The European countries when driven to full remonetization, as I believe they will be in the end, must of necessity adopt their old ratio of fifteen and a half of silver to one of gold, and we shall then be compelled to adopt the same instead of our former ratio of sixteen to one.

If we fail to do this we shall, as before, lose our silver, which like all things else seeks the highest market; and if fifteen and a half pounds of silver will buy as much gold in Europe as sixteen pounds will buy in America, the silver, of course, will go to Europe. But our line of policy in a joint movement with other nations to remonetize is simple and direct. The difficult problem is what we shall do when we aim to re-establish silver without the co-operation of European powers, and really as an advance movement to coerce those powers into the same policy. Evidently the first dictate of prudence is to coin such a dollar as will not only do justice among our citizens at home, but will prove a protection—an absolute barricade against the gold mono-metallists of Europe, who, whenever the opportunity offers, will quickly draw from us the one hundred and sixty millions of gold coin which we now hold. If we coin a silver dollar of full legal tender, obviously below the current value of the gold dollar, we are simply opening our doors and inviting Europe to take our gold. With our gold flowing out from us we shall be forced to the single silver standard and our relations with the leading commercial countries of the world will be not only embarrassed but crippled.

The question before Congress then—sharply defined in the pending House bill—is whether it is now safe and expedient to offer free coinage to the silver dollar of $412\frac{1}{2}$ grains, with the mints of the Latin Union closed, and Germany not permitting silver to be coined as money. At current rates of silver, the free coinage of a dollar containing $412\frac{1}{2}$ grains, worth in gold about ninety-two cents, gives an illegitimate profit to the owner of the bullion, enabling him to take ninety-two cents worth of it to the mint and get it stamped as coin, and force his neighbor to take it for a full dollar. This is an unfair advantage which the Government has no right to give to the owner of silver bullion, and which defrauds the man who is forced to take the dollar. It assuredly follows that if we give free coinage to this dollar of inferior value and put it in circulation, we do so at the expense of our better coinage in gold; and, unless we expect the invariable experience of other nations to be in some mysterious way suspended for our peculiar benefit, we inevitably lose our gold coin. It will flow out from us with the certainty and with the force of the tides. Gold has indeed remained with us in considerable amount during the circulation of the inferior currency of the legal tender; but that was

because there were two great uses reserved by law for gold—the collection of customs and the payment of interest on the public debt. But if the inferior silver coin is also to be used for these two reserved purposes, then gold has no tie to bind it to us. What gain, therefore, should we make for the circulating medium, if on opening the gate for silver to flow in, we open a still wider gate for gold to flow out? If I were to venture upon a dictum on the silver question, I should declare that until Europe remonetizes silver we cannot afford to coin a dollar as low as $412\frac{1}{2}$ grains. After Europe remonetizes on the old standard, we cannot afford to coin a dollar above four hundred grains. If we coin too low a dollar before general remonetization our gold will leave us. If we coin too high a dollar after general remonetization our silver will leave us. It is only an equated value before and after general remonetization that will preserve both gold and silver to us.

Consider further what injustice would be done to every holder of a legal-tender or national bank note. That large volume of paper money—in excess of seven hundred millions of dollars—is now worth between ninety-eight and ninety-nine cents on the dollar in gold coin. The

holders of it, who are indeed our entire population, from the poorest to the richest, have been promised from the hour of its issue that their paper money would one day be as good as gold. To pay silver for the greenback is a full compliance with this promise and this obligation, provided the silver is made, as it always has been hitherto, as good as gold. To make our silver coin even three per cent. less valuable than gold inflicts at once a loss of more than twenty millions of dollars on the holders of our paper money. To make a silver dollar worth but ninety-two cents precipitates on the same class a loss of nearly sixty millions of dollars. For whatever the value of the silver dollar is, the whole paper issue of the country will sink to its standard when its coinage is authorized and its circulation becomes general in the channels of trade. Some one in conversation with Commodore Vanderbilt during one of the many freight competitions of the trunk lines said: "It cannot be that the Canadian Railroad has sufficient carrying capacity to compete with your great line?" "That is true," replied the Commodore, "but they can fix a rate and force us down to it." Were Congress to pass a law to-day declaring that every legal-tender note and every national bank-note

shall hereafter pass for ninety-six or ninety-seven cents on the dollar, there is not a constituency in the United States that would re-elect a man who supported it, and in many districts the representative would be lucky if he escaped merely with a defeat at the polls.

Yet it is almost mathematically demonstrable that the same effect will follow from the coinage of an inferior silver dollar. Assurances from empirics and scientists in finance that remonetization of the former dollar will at once and permanently advance its value to par with gold, are worth little in the face of opposing and controlling facts. The first effect of issuing any silver dollar that will pay customs dues and interest on the public debt, will undoubtedly be to raise it to a practical equality with gold; but that condition will last only until the amount needful for customs shall fill the channels of its use; and the overflow going into general circulation will rapidly settle to its normal and actual value, and then the discount will come on the volume of the paper currency, which will sink, *pari passu*, with the silver dollar in which it is made redeemable. That remonetization will have a considerable effect in advancing the value of the silver dollar is very probable, but not enough to over-

come the difference now existing,—a difference resulting from causes independent of our control in the United States.

The responsibility of re-establishing silver in its ancient and honorable place as money in Europe and America, devolves really upon the Congress of the United States. If we act here with wisdom and firmness, we shall not only successfully remonetize silver, and bring it into general use as money in our own country, but the influence of our example will be potential among European nations, with the possible exception of England. Indeed our annual indebtedness to Europe is so great that if we have the right to pay it in silver, we necessarily coerce those nations, by the strongest of all forces, self interest, to aid us in upholding the value of silver as money. But if we attempt the remonetization on a basis which is obviously below the fair standard of value as it now exists, we incur all the evil consequences of failure at home, and the certainty of successful opposition abroad. We are, and shall be, the greatest producers of silver in the world, and we have a larger stake in its complete monetization than any other country. The difference to the United States, between the general acceptance and the general

destruction of silver as money in the commercial world, will possibly within the next half century equal the entire bonded debt of the Nation. But, to gain this advantage, we must make it actual money, the accepted equal of gold in the markets of the world. Remonetization here, followed by general remonetization in Europe, will secure to the United States the most stable basis for its currency that we have ever enjoyed, and will effectually aid in solving all the problems by which our financial situation is surrounded.

On the much-vexed and long-mooted question of a bi-metallic or mono-metallic standard, my own views are sufficiently indicated in the remarks I have made. I believe the struggle now going on in this country, and in other countries, for a single gold standard, would, if successful, produce disaster in the end throughout the commercial world. The destruction of silver as money, and the establishment of gold as the sole unit of value, must have a ruinous effect on all forms of property except those investments which yield a fixed return in money. These would be enormously enhanced in value, and would gain a disproportionate, and therefore unfair, advantage over every other species of property. If, as the most reliable

statistics affirm, there are nearly seven-thousand millions of coin or bullion in the world, not very unequally divided between gold and silver, it is impossible to strike silver out of existence as money without results which will prove distressing to millions, and utterly disastrous to tens of thousands. Alexander Hamilton, in his able and invaluable report in 1791 on the establishment of a mint, declared that "to annul the use of either gold or silver as money is to abridge the quantity of circulating medium, and is liable to all the objections which arise from a comparison of the benefits of a full circulation with the evils of a scanty circulation." I take no risk in saying that the benefits of a full circulation, and the evils of a scanty circulation, are both immeasurably greater to-day than they were when Mr. Hamilton uttered these weighty words, always provided that the circulation is one of actual money, and not of depreciated "promises to pay."

• In the report from which I have already quoted, Mr. Hamilton argues at length in favor of a double standard, and all the subsequent experience of ninety years has brought out no clearer statement of the case, or developed a more complete comprehension of this subtle and difficult subject. "On

the whole," says Mr. Hamilton, "it seems most advisable not to attach the unit exclusively to either of the metals, because this cannot be done effectually without destroying the office and character of one of them as money, and reducing it to the situation of mere merchandise." Mr. Hamilton wisely concludes that this reduction of either of the metals to mere merchandise (I again quote his exact words) "would probably be a greater evil than occasional variations in the unit from the fluctuations in the relative value of the metals, especially if care be taken to regulate the proportion between them, with an eye to their average commercial value." I do not think that this country, holding so vast a proportion of the world's supply of silver in its mountains and its mines, can afford to reduce the metal to the "situation of mere merchandise." If silver ceases to be used as money in Europe and America, the mines of the Pacific slope will be closed and dead. Mining enterprises of the gigantic scale existing in this country cannot be carried on to provide backs for mirrors, and to manufacture cream-pitchers and sugar-bowls. A source of incalculable wealth to this entire country is destroyed the moment silver is permanently disused as money. It is for us to check that tendency,

and bring the continent of Europe back to the full recognition of the value of the metal as a medium of exchange.

The question of beginning anew the coinage of silver dollars has aroused much discussion as to its effect on the public credit. The Senator from Ohio [Mr. Matthews] placed this phase of the subject in the very forefront of the debate—insisting, prematurely and illogically, I think, on a sort of judicial construction in advance, by concurrent resolution, of a certain law, in case that law should happen to be passed by Congress. My own view on this question can be stated very briefly. I believe the public creditor can afford to be paid in any silver dollar that the United States can afford to coin and circulate. We have forty thousand millions of property in this country, and a wise self-interest will not permit us to overturn its relations by seeking for an inferior dollar wherewith to settle the honest demands of any creditor. The question might be different from a merely selfish point of view if, on paying the dollar to the public creditor, it would disappear after performing that function. But the trouble is that the inferior dollar you pay the public creditor remains in circulation, to the exclusion of the better dollar.

That which you pay at home will stay here; that which you send abroad will come back. The interest of the public creditor is indissolubly bound up with the interest of the whole people. Whatever affects him affects us all; and the evil that we might inflict upon him by paying an inferior dollar would recoil upon us with a vengeance as manifold as the aggregate wealth of the Republic transcends the comparatively small limits of our bonded debt. Remember that our aggregate wealth is always increasing, and our bonded debt steadily growing less! If paid in a good silver dollar, the bondholder has nothing to complain of. If paid in an inferior silver dollar, he has the same grievance that will be uttered still more plaintively by the holder of the legal-tender note and of the national-bank bill, by the pensioner, by the day laborer, and by the countless host of the poor, whom we have with us always, and on whom the most distressing effect of inferior money will be ultimately precipitated.

But I must say, Mr. President, that the specific demand for the payment of our bonds in gold coin, and in nothing else, comes with an ill grace from certain quarters. European criticism is leveled against us, and hard names are hurled

at us across the ocean, for simply daring to state that the letter of our law declares the bonds to be payable in standard coin of July 14, 1870; explicitly declared so, and declared so in the interest of the public creditor, and the declaration inserted in the very body of the eight hundred millions of bonds that have been issued since that date. Beyond all doubt, the silver dollar was included in the standard coins of that public act. Payment at that time would have been as acceptable and as undisputed in silver as in gold dollars, for both were equally valuable in the European as well as in the American market. Seven-eighths of all our bonds owned out of the country are held in Germany and in Holland. Germany has demonetized silver, and Holland has been forced thereby to suspend its coinage, since the subjects of both powers purchased our securities. The German Empire, the very year after we made our specific declaration for paying our bonds in coin, passed a law destroying, so far as lay in its power, the value of silver as money. I do not say that it was specially aimed at this country, but it was passed regardless of its effect upon us, and was followed, according to public and undenied statement, by a large investment on the part of the

German Government in our bonds, with a view, it was understood, of holding them as a coin reserve for drawing gold from us to aid in establishing their new gold standard at home. Thus, by one move, the German Government destroyed, so far as lay in its power, the then existing value of silver as money, enhanced consequently the value of gold, and then got into position to draw gold from us at the moment of their need, which would also be the moment of our own sorest distress. I do not say that the German Government, in these successive steps, did a single thing which it had not a perfect right to do, but I do say that the subjects of that Empire have no reason to complain of our Government for the initial step which has impaired the value of one of our standard coins. The German Government, by joining with us in the remonetization of silver, can place that standard coin in its old position, and make it as easy for this Government to pay, and as profitable for their subjects to receive, the one metal as the other.

When we pledged the public creditor in 1870 that our obligations should be paid in the standard coin of that date, silver bullion was worth in the London market a fraction over sixty pence per

ounce; its average for the past eight months has been about fifty-four pence; the price reckoned in gold in both cases. But the large difference is due in part to the rise of gold as well as to the fall of silver. Allowing for both causes and dividing the difference, it will be found, in the judgment of many of the wisest men in this country, perfectly safe to issue a dollar of 425 grains standard silver; as one that, anticipating the full and legitimate influence of remonetization, will equate itself with the gold dollar, and effectually guard against the drain of our gold during the time necessary for international conference in regard to the general re-establishment of silver as money. When that general re-establishment shall be effected with a coinage of fewer grains, the dollar which I am now advocating will not cause loss or embarrassment to any one. The miner of the ore, the owner of the bullion, the holder of the coin, and the Government that issues it, will all in turn be benefited. It will yield a profit on recoinage and will be advantageously employed in our commercial relations with foreign countries. Meanwhile it will insure to our laborers at home a full dollar's pay for a dollar's worth of work.

I think we owe this to the American laborer.

Ever since we demonetized the old dollar we have been running our mints at full speed, coining a new silver dollar for the use of the Chinese cooly and the Indian pariah—a dollar containing 420 grains of standard silver, with its superiority over our ancient dollar, ostentatiously engraved on its reverse side. To these “outside barbarians” we send this superior dollar, bearing all our national emblems, our patriotic devices, our pious inscriptions, our goddess of liberty, our defiant eagle, our federal unity, our trust in God. This dollar contains $7\frac{1}{2}$ grains more silver than the famous “dollar of the fathers,” proposed to be recoined by the pending bill, and more than four times as many of these new dollars have already been coined as ever were coined of all other silver dollars in the United States. In the exceptional and abnormal condition of the silver market now existing throughout the world we have felt compelled to increase the weight of the dollar with which we carry on trade with the heathen nations of Asia. Shall we do less for the American laborer at home? Nay, shall we not do a little better and a little more for those of our own blood and our own fireside? If you remonetize the dollar of the fathers your mints will be at once put to work on

two different dollars—different in weight, different in value, different in prestige, different in their reputation and currency throughout the commercial world. It will read strangely in history that the weightier and more valuable of these dollars is made for an ignorant class of heathen laborers in China and India, and that the lighter and less valuable is made for the intelligent and educated laboring man who is a citizen of the United States. Charity, the adage says, begins at home. Charity, the independent American laborer scorns to ask, but he has the right to demand that justice should begin at home. In his name and in the name of common sense and common honesty, I ask that the American Congress will not force upon the American laborer an inferior dollar which the naked and famishing laborers of India and China refuse to accept.

The bill which I now offer as a substitute for the House bill contains three very simple provisions:

1. That the dollar shall contain four hundred and twenty-five grains of standard silver, shall have unlimited coinage, and be an unlimited legal-tender.

2. That all the profits of coinage shall go to the Government, and not to the operator in silver bullion.

3. That silver dollars or silver bullion, assayed and mint-stamped, may be deposited with the Assistant-Treasurer at New York, for which coin certificates may be issued, the same in denomination as United States notes, not below ten dollars, and that these shall be redeemable on demand in coin or bullion. We shall thus secure a paper circulation based on an actual deposit of precious metal, giving us notes as valuable as those of the Bank of England and doing away at once with the dreaded inconvenience of silver on account of its bulk and weight.

I do not fail, Mr. President, to recognize that the committals and avowals of Senators on this question preclude the hope of my substitute being adopted. I do not indeed fail to recognize that on this question I am not in line with either extreme—with those who believe in the single gold standard or with those who by premature and unwise action, as I must regard it, would force us to the single silver standard. Either will be found, in my judgment, a great misfortune to our country. We need both gold and silver, and we can have both only by making each the equal of the other. It would not be difficult to show that, in the nations where both have been fully recognized and most widely

diffused, the steadiest and most continuous prosperity has been enjoyed,—that true form of prosperity which reaches all classes, but which begins with the day laborer whose toil lays the foundation of the whole superstructure of wealth. The exclusively gold nation like England may show the most massive fortunes in the ruling classes, but it shows also the most helpless and hopeless poverty in the humbler walks of life. The gold and silver nation like France can exhibit no such individual fortunes as abound in a gold nation like England, but it has a peasantry whose silver savings can pay a war indemnity that would have beggared the gold bankers of London, and to which the peasantry of England could not have contributed a pound sterling in gold or even a shilling in silver.

The effect of paying the labor of this country in silver coin of full value, as compared with irredeemable paper—or as compared, even, with silver of inferior value—will make itself felt in a single generation to the extent of tens of millions—perhaps hundreds of millions—in the aggregate savings which represent consolidated capital. It is the instinct of man from the savage to the scholar—developed in childhood and remaining with age—to value the metals which in all lands

are counted "precious." Excessive paper money leads to extravagance, to waste, to want, as we painfully witness to-day. With abounding proof of its demoralizing and destructive effect, we hear it proclaimed in the Halls of Congress, that "the people demand cheap money." I deny it. I declare such a phrase to be a total misapprehension—a total misinterpretation of the popular wish. The people do not demand cheap money. They demand an abundance of good money, which is an entirely different thing. They do not want a single gold standard that will exclude silver and benefit those already rich. They do not want an inferior silver standard that will drive out gold and not help those already poor. They want both metals, in full value, in equal honor, in whatever abundance the bountiful earth will yield them to the searching eye of science and to the hard hand of labor.

The two metals have existed side by side in harmonious, honorable companionship as money, ever since intelligent trade was known among men. It is well-nigh forty centuries since "Abraham weighed to Ephron the silver, which he had named in the audience of the sons of Heth, four hundred shekels of silver, current money with the merchant." Since that time nations have risen and fallen, races have

disappeared, dialects and languages have been forgotten, arts have been lost, treasures have perished, continents have been discovered, islands have been sunk in the sea, and through all these ages and through all these changes, silver and gold have reigned supreme as the representatives of value—as the media of exchange. The dethronement of each has been attempted in turn, and sometimes the dethronement of both; but always in vain! And we are here to-day, deliberating anew over the problem which comes down to us from Abraham's time—the *weight of the silver* that shall be “current money with the merchant.”

SOUTHERN ABUSE OF ELECTIVE FRANCHISE.

[On the 2d of December, 1878, Mr. Blaine submitted the following resolution to the Senate :

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary be instructed to inquire and report to the Senate whether at the recent elections the Constitutional rights of American citizens were violated in any of the States of the Union; whether the right of suffrage of citizens of the United States, or of any class of such citizens, was denied or abridged by the action of the election officers of any State in refusing to receive their votes, in failing to count them, or in receiving and counting fraudulent ballots in pursuance of a conspiracy to make the lawful votes of such citizens of none effect; and

whether such citizens were prevented from exercising the elective franchise, or forced to use it against their wishes, by violence or threats, or hostile demonstrations of armed men or other organizations, or by any other unlawful means or practices.

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary be further instructed to inquire and report whether it is within the competency of Congress to provide by additional legislation for the more perfect security of the right of suffrage to citizens of the United States in all the States of the Union.

Resolved, That in prosecuting these inquiries the Judiciary Committee shall have the right to send for persons and papers.

On Wednesday, December 11, Mr. Blaine addressed the Senate as follows:]

MR. PRESIDENT—The pending resolutions were offered by me with a twofold purpose in view:

First, to place on record, in a definite and authentic form, the frauds and outrages by which certain recent elections for representatives in Congress were carried by the Democratic party in the Southern States.

Second, to find if there be any method by which a repetition of these crimes against a free ballot may be prevented.

The newspaper is the channel through which the people of the United States are informed of current events, and the accounts given in the press represent the elections in some of the Southern States to have been accompanied by violence, in

not a few cases reaching the destruction of life; to have been controlled by threats that awed and intimidated a large class of voters; to have been manipulated by fraud of the most shameless and shameful description. Indeed in South Carolina there seems to have been no election at all in any proper sense of the term. There was a series of skirmishes over the State, in which the polling-places were regarded as forts to be captured by one party and held against the other; and where this could not be done with convenience, frauds in the count, and tissue-ballot devices were resorted to in order effectually to destroy the voice of the majority. These in brief are the accounts given in the non-partisan press, of the disgraceful outrages that attended the recent elections; and so far as I have seen, these statements are without serious contradiction. It is but just and fair to all parties, however, that an impartial investigation of the facts shall be made by a committee of the Senate, proceeding under the authority of law and representing the power of the Nation. Hence my resolution.

But we do not need investigation to establish certain facts already of official record. We know that one hundred and six representatives in Congress were recently chosen in the States formerly

slave-holding, and the Democrats elected one hundred and one or possibly one hundred and two and the Republicans four or possibly five. We know that thirty-five of these representatives were assigned to the Southern States by reason of the colored population, and that the entire political power thus founded on the numbers of the colored people has been seized and appropriated to the aggrandizement of its own strength by the Democratic party of the South.

The issue thus raised before the country, Mr. President, is not one of mere sentiment for the rights of the negro—though far distant be the day when the rights of any American citizen, however black or however poor, shall form the mere dust of the balance in any controversy. Nor is the issue one that involves the waving of the “bloody shirt,” to quote the elegant vernacular of Democratic vituperation; nor, still further, is the issue as now presented only a question of the equality of the black voter of the South with the white voter of the South. The issue, Mr. President, has taken a far wider range, one indeed of portentous magnitude, viz., whether the white voter of the North shall be equal to the white voter of the South in shaping the policy and fixing the destiny of this country;

or whether to state it still more baldly, the white man who fought in the ranks of the Union Army shall have as weighty and influential a vote in the Government of the Republic as the white man who fought in the ranks of the Rebel Army. The one fought to uphold, the other to destroy, the Union of the States, and to-day he who fought to destroy is a far more important factor in the Government of the Nation than he who fought to uphold.

Let me illustrate my meaning by comparing groups of States of the same representative strength North and South. The States of South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana send seventeen representatives to Congress. Their aggregate population is composed of one million and thirty-five thousand whites and one million two hundred and twenty-four thousand colored; the colored being nearly two hundred thousand in excess of the whites. Of the seventeen representatives, it is evident that nine were apportioned by these States by reason of their colored population, and only eight by reason of their white population; and yet in the choice of the entire seventeen representatives the colored voters had no more voice or power than their remote kindred on the shores of Senegambia or on the coast of Guinea. The one million and

thirty-five thousand white people had the sole and absolute choice of the entire seventeen representatives. In contrast, two States in the North, Iowa and Wisconsin, with seventeen representatives have a white population of two million two hundred and forty-seven thousand, considerably more than double the entire white population of the three Southern States I have named. In Ohio and Wisconsin, therefore, it takes one hundred and thirty-two white population to send a representative to Congress, but in South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana every sixty thousand white people send a representative. In other words, sixty thousand white people in those Southern States have precisely the same political power in the government of the country that one hundred and thirty-two thousand white people have in Iowa and Wisconsin.

Take another group of seventeen representatives from the South and from the North. Georgia and Alabama have a white population of eleven hundred and fifty-eight thousand and a colored population of ten hundred and twenty thousand. They send seventeen representative to Congress, of whom nine were apportioned on account of the white population and eight on account of the colored population. But the colored voters are not able to

choose a single representative, the white Democrats choosing the whole seventeen. The four Northern States, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, and California, have seventeen representatives, based on a white population of two and a quarter millions, or almost double the white population of Georgia and Alabama, so that in these relative groups of States we find the white man in the South exercising by his vote double the political power of the white man in the North.

Let us carry the comparison to a more comprehensive generalization. The eleven States that formed the Confederate Government had by the last census a population of nine and a-half millions, of which in round numbers five and a-half millions were white and four millions colored. On this aggregate population seventy-three representatives in Congress were apportioned to those States, forty-two or three of which were by reason of the white population, and thirty or thirty-one by reason of the colored population. At the recent election the white Democracy of the South seized seventy of the seventy-three districts, and thus secured a Democratic majority in the next House of Representatives. Thus it appears that throughout the States which formed the late Confederate Government,

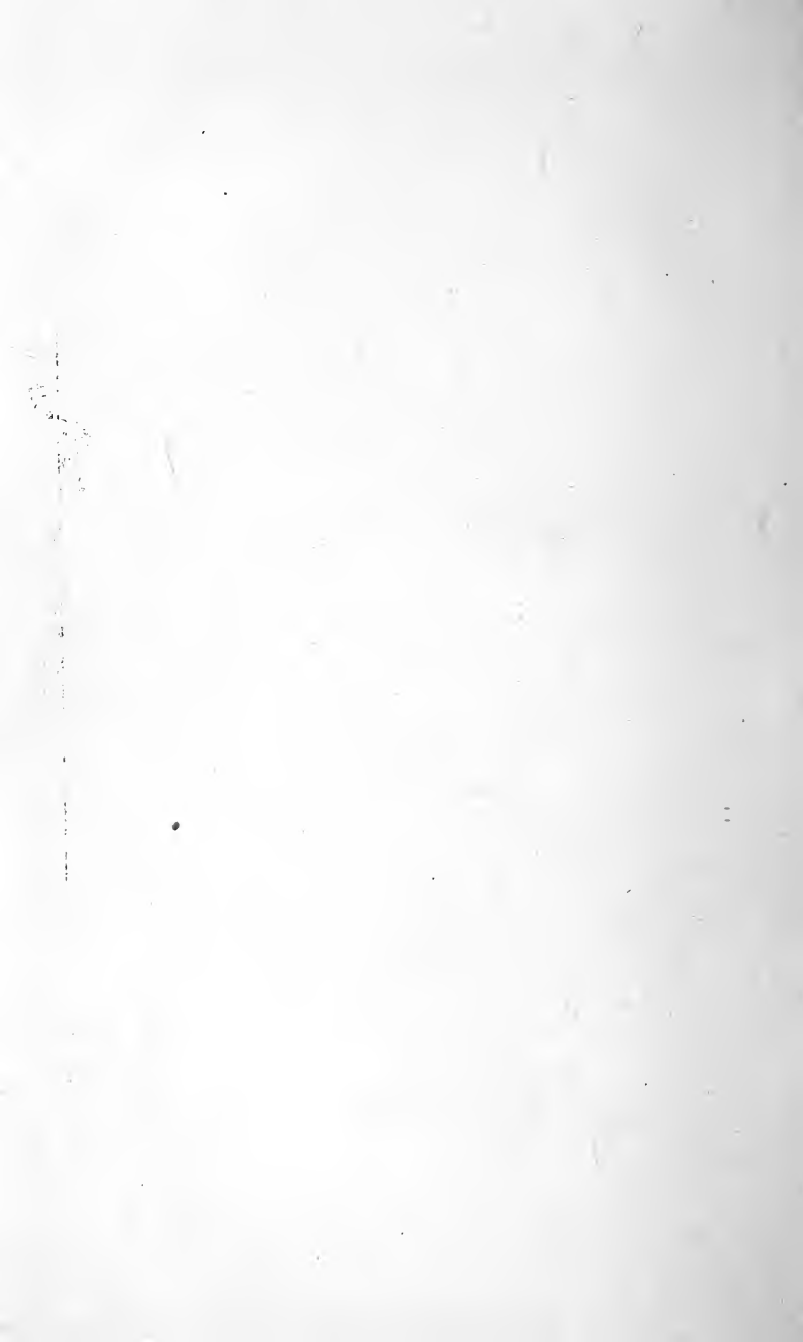
sixty-five thousand whites—the very people that rebelled against the Union—are enabled to elect a representative in Congress, while in the loyal States it requires one hundred and thirty-two thousand of the white people that fought for the Union to elect a representative. In levying every tax, therefore, in making every appropriation of money, in fixing every line of public policy, in decreeing what shall be the fate and fortune of the Republic, the Confederate soldier South is enabled to cast a vote that is twice as influential and twice as powerful as the vote of the Union soldier North.

But the white men of the South did not acquire and do not hold this superior power by reason of law or justice, but in disregard and defiance of both. The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution was expected to be and was designed to be a preventive and corrective of all such possible abuses. The reading of the clause applicable to the case is instructive and suggestive. Hear it:

“Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of



HON. GROVER CLEVELAND.



such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State."

The patent, undeniable intent of this provision was that if any class of voters should be denied or in any way abridged in their right of suffrage, then the class so denied or abridged should not be counted in the basis of representation; or, in other words, that no State or States should gain a large increase of representation in Congress by reason of counting any class of population not permitted to take part in electing such representatives. But the construction given to this provision is that before any forfeiture of representation can be enforced the denial or abridgment of suffrage must be the result of a law specifically enacted by the State. Under this construction every negro voter may have his suffrage absolutely denied or fatally abridged by the violence, actual or threatened, of irresponsible mobs, or by frauds and deceptions of State officers from the governor down to the last election clerk, and then, unless some State law can be shown that authorizes the denial or abridgment, the State escapes all penalty or peril of reduced representa-

tion. This construction may be upheld by the courts, ruling on the letter of the law, "which killeth," but the spirit of justice cries aloud against the evasive and atrocious conclusion that deals out oppression to the innocent and shields the guilty from the legitimate consequences of willful transgression.

The colored citizen is thus most unhappily situated; his right of suffrage is but a hollow mockery; it holds to his ear the word of promise, but breaks it always to his hope, and he ends only in being made the unwilling instrument of increasing the political strength of that party from which he suffered ever-tightening fetters when he was a slave and contemptuous refusal of civil rights since he was made free. He resembles indeed those unhappy captives in the East, who, deprived of their birthright, are compelled to yield their strength to the aggrandizement of the monarch from whose tyrannies they have most to fear, and to fight against the power from which alone deliverance might be expected. The franchise intended for the shield and defense of the negro has been turned against him and against his friends, and has vastly increased the power of those from whom he has nothing to hope and everything to dread.

The political strength thus unjustly seized by Southern Democrats by reason of the negro population is equal to thirty-five representatives in Congress. It is massed almost solidly, and offsets the great State of New York; or Pennsylvania and New Jersey together; or the whole of New England; or Ohio and Indiana united; or the combined strength of Illinois, Minnesota, Kansas, California, Nevada, Nebraska, Colorado and Oregon. The seizure of this power is wanton usurpation; it is flagrant outrage; it is violent perversion of the whole theory of republican government. It inures solely to the apparent advantage, and yet, I believe, to the permanent dishonor of the Democratic party. It is by reason of this trampling down of human rights, this ruthless seizure of unlawful power, that the Democratic party holds the popular branch of Congress to-day, and will in less than ninety days have control of this body also, thus grasping the entire legislative department of the Government through the unlawful capture of the Southern States. If the proscribed vote of the South were cast, as its lawful owners desire, the Democratic party could not gain control. Nay, if the ballot of the colored man were not counted on the other side, against the instincts and the interests,

against the principles and the prejudices, of its lawful owners, Democratic success would be hopeless. It is not enough, then, for modern Democratic tactics that the negro vote shall be silenced; the demand goes farther and insists that it shall be counted on the Democratic side, that all the representatives in Congress and all the Presidential electors apportioned by reason of the negro vote shall be so cast and so controlled as to insure Democratic success—regardless of justice, in defiance of law.

This great wrong is wholly unprovoked. I doubt if it be in the power of the most searching investigation to show that in any Southern State during the period of Republican control any legal voter was ever debarred from the freest exercise of his suffrage. Even the revenges which would have leaped into life with many who despised the negro were buried out of sight with a magnanimity which the "superior race" fail to follow and seem reluctant to recognize. I know it is said in reply to such charges against the Southern elections as I am now reviewing, that unfairness of equal gravity prevails in Northern elections. I hear it in many quarters and read it in the papers that in the late exciting election in Massachusetts intimidation and

bulldozing, if not so rough and rancorous as in the South, were yet as widespread and effective.

I have read and yet I refuse to believe that the distinguished gentleman, who made an energetic but unsuccessful canvass for the Governorship of that State, has indorsed and approved these charges, and I have accordingly made my resolution broad enough to include their thorough investigation. I am not demanding fair elections in the South without demanding fair elections in the North also. But venturing to speak for the New England States, of whose laws and customs I know something, I dare assert that in the late election in Massachusetts, or any of her neighboring Commonwealths, it will be impossible to find even one case where a voter was driven from the polls, where a voter did not have the fullest, fairest, freest opportunity to cast the ballot of his choice and have it honestly and faithfully counted in the returns. Suffrage on this continent was first made universal in New England, and in the administration of their affairs her people have found no other appeal necessary than that which is addressed to their honesty of conviction and to their intelligent self-interest. If there be any thing different to disclose I pray you show it to us that we may amend our ways.

But whenever a feeble protest is made against such injustice as I have described in the South, the response we receive comes to us in the form of a taunt, "What are you going to do about it?" and how are you going to help yourselves?" This is the stereotyped answer of defiance which entrenched wrong always gives to enquiring justice. Those who imagine it to be conclusive do not know the temper of the American people. For let me assure you that against the complicated outrage upon the right of representation lately triumphant in the South there will be arrayed many phases of public opinion in the North not often hitherto in harmony. Men who have cared little, and affected to care less, for the rights or wrongs of the negro suddenly find that vast monetary and commercial interests, great questions of revenue, adjustments of tariff, investments in manufactures, in railways, and in mines, are under the control of a Democratic Congress, whose majority was obtained by depriving the negro of his rights under a common Constitution and common laws. Men who have expressed disgust with the waving of bloody shirts and have been offended with talk about negro equality are beginning to perceive that the question of to-day relates more pressingly to the equality of

white men under this Government, and that however careless they may be about the rights or wrongs of the negro, they are jealous and tenacious about the rights of their own race and the dignity of their own firesides and their own kindred.

I know something of public opinion in the North. I know a great deal about the views, wishes, and purposes of the Republican party of the Nation. Within that entire great organization there is not one man, whose opinion is entitled to be quoted, that does not desire peace and harmony and friendship and a patriotic and fraternal union between the North and the South. This wish is spontaneous and universal throughout the Northern States; and yet, among men of character and sense, there is surely no need of attempting to deceive ourselves as to the precise truth. First pure, then peaceable. Gush will not remove a grievance, and no disguise of State rights will close the eyes of our people to the necessity of correcting a great National wrong. Nor should the South make the fatal mistake of concluding that injustice to the negro is not also injustice to the white man; nor should it ever be forgotten that for the wrongs of both a remedy will assuredly be found. The war,

with all its costly sacrifices, was fought in vain unless equal rights for all classes be established in all the States of the Union. In words which are those of friendship, however they may be accepted, I tell the men of the South here on this floor and beyond this Chamber, that even if they could strip the negro of his Constitutional rights they can never permanently maintain the inequality of white men in this nation. They can never make a white man's vote in the South doubly as powerful in the administration of the Government as a white man's vote in the North.

In a memorable debate in the House of Commons, Mr. Macaulay reminded Daniel O'Connell, when he was moving for repeal, that the English Whigs had endured calumny, abuse, popular fury, loss of position, exclusion from Parliament rather than that the great agitator himself should be less than a British subject; and Mr. Macaulay warned him that they would never suffer him to be more. Let me now remind you that the Government, under whose protecting flag we sit to-day, sacrificed myriads of lives and expended thousands of millions of treasure that our countrymen of the South should remain citizens of the United States, having equal personal rights and equal political privileges

with all other citizens. I venture, now and here, to warn the men of the South, in the exact words of Macaulay, that we will never suffer them to be more!

[NOTE.—The resolution offered by Mr. Blaine was amended by assigning the work of investigation to a special committee instead of the Judiciary. The report of the well-known "Teller Committee" was the result of the movement.]

SPEECH AT THE DINNER OF THE NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY OF NEW YORK, DECEMBER 23, 1878.

To make a good after-dinner speech has time out of mind been regarded as the crucial test of a genial, jovial, splendid soul. So much of the severer side of Mr. Blaine has been shown in the extracts from his speeches already that it might be supposed he was always the statesman and orator. But he has a side of the very sunniest kind, and to illustrate it the occasion of the dinner of the the New England Society, of New York, may be cited.

At this distinguished gathering on December 23, 1878, the President of the Society Mr. D. F. Appleton, called on Senator Blaine to respond to the following toast, introducing him, not as a native, but as a representative man from New England:

"New England Character—adapted to every requirement; it fits her sons not only to fill, but to adorn every station." Mr. Blaine's response is given below.

GENTLEMEN OF THE NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY—
Your President has kindly relieved me from a personal explanation. I am only a brother-in-law, so to speak. Brothers-in-law are useful in families occasionally, and in a New England family, where modesty is the prevailing fault, and where you can rarely induce one of the direct blood and descent to say anything in praise of his race, it is, perhaps, fortunate that, unembarrassed by personal prudery, I can speak my mind freely about you. I never saw New England until after I was a man grown, but I have lived more than half my life on its soil, and I have six children who represent the ninth generation in descent from ancestors who belonged to the old Massachusetts colony. I am ready to say, Mr. President, in any presence, recollecting as I always do, with pride, my Pennsylvania birth and my Scotch and Scotch-Irish ancestry—I am ready to say, that in the settlement of this continent and the shaping and moulding of its free institutions, the leading place belongs to New England. Every chapter of its stalwart history is weighty with momentous events. A small number of immigrants came in 1620; there was no appre-

ciable increase of immigration until after 1630; there was none after 1640. The twenty-one thousand men who came in those brief years are the progenitors of a race that includes one-third of the people of the United States of America. They are the progenitors of a race of people twice as numerous as all who spoke the English language when they came to these shores.

The tyrannical father of Frederick the Great said to his tutor: "Instruct this young boy in history; do not dwell much on the ancients, but let him know everything that has happened in the last hundred and fifty years." I submit to you, Mr. President, that the great event which has happened in the last hundred and fifty has been the progress of the English-speaking race. Not seven millions of people spoke the tongue when the Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth; not seventeen millions spoke it when the American Revolution was born. In this hundred years the progress of other nations has been great. The German Empire has been reformed, and is stronger and firmer than it ever existed before; Russia, springing from semi-barbarism, has come to be a first-class power; Italy has been born again, and promises something of its ancient grandeur; France has fallen and risen,

and fallen and again risen under the aid and inspiration of republican energy and patriotism. Yet, with all this progress of all these countries, the one great fact of the last hundred years is that when the revolution of the American colonies was fought, the English-speaking people of the world were not 17,000,000, and to-day they are 100,000,000 in number.

Another fact—I pray you will excuse my reviewing history. We are in the habit of deploring the hardships of the men who settled New England, and in deploring their hardships we are in the habit of alluding to them as a poor and friendless and downcast race of men. They were any thing else. They had the nerve and courage to endure hardship. They were a class of men, the like of whom never before and never since emigrated from any land. They were men of intelligence and learning; they were men of property. The twenty-one thousand men that came to New England and settled the five colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay, New Haven, Connecticut, and Providence, brought with them according to authentic history, five hundred thousand pounds—two and a half millions of our dollars. Reckoning money as worth then six times what it is now, this property repre-

sents, in its power to purchase, at least fifteen millions of our money of to-day. Show me any other twenty-one thousand emigrants in this world that ever carried fifteen millions of property with them—anywhere! How few towns of the United States of twenty-one thousand people to-day represent more than fifteen millions of property!

These Puritan emigrants were men, as I have already said, of property and education and large experience in affairs; they were men who were accomplished in the literature of Milton and Locke and Lightfoot; they were men in whose ministry were John Robinson and Brewster and Davenport; they were men in whose statesmanship were Cromwell and Hampden and Pym; they were men who, in all the great departments of civil polity and in all the great features of personal and individual character, led the van of the English race. When we wonder at what has been done in New England, we wonder without due reflection, for those men brought with them all the elements of the great success that has since crowned their efforts. They brought one thing which has endured well, and that was the belief that if you set in motion a principle founded on truth, it will go through. [Applause.] They sturdily believed, in the

language of one of their most eloquent men, that an army of principles will penetrate where an army of men cannot enter. The Rhine cannot stop it or the ocean arrest its progress. It will march to the horizon of the world, and will conquer.

And the conquest is permanent!

That this strong race has been abused and reviled, is, of course, inevitable. You remember the old fellow in London, fumbling with his watch-chain, who replied to some one complimenting him on its strength, "Of course it is strong. There isn't a pickpocket in London as hasn't taken a tug at it in his day." There is hardly any one outside of New England who has not taken a hand in abusing the Yankee race. I never heard it abused in quite so eloquent a manner as by our friend of the Central Railroad this evening when speaking for the West. Assuredly I agree with him that New-Englanders ought to remember the influence which the West has had upon New England, and by the West you must remember New England means all of the North American continent outside of her own borders. We are constantly telling the Western people how much New England has done for them, and, in sober truth, it has done a great deal. But let me frankly acknowledge that the West has

moulded and modified and developed and advanced New England in a degree which New England does not, perhaps, fully appreciate. Just as New England has re-acted upon Old England, so the New Englanders who have gone West have re-acted upon the New Englanders who have remained at home. The New England of fifty years ago of which our reverend friend, Dr. Storrs, spoke so eloquently, does not exist to-day. The New England of which my friend Depew has spoken of as swarming into New York is a thing of the past. They have taken possession. The current has practically been equalized, and by action and reaction, New England ideas, potent always in the West and throughout the country, have become still more potent by the fact that the original source of the influence has been largely affected by the streams which have returned to fructify and enrich at home.

Another feature. We forget that when the Pilgrim Fathers came to this country they left a state of affairs in England which boded revolution, and which in effect wrought out two revolutions before the English people achieved the rights for which they were contending. Yet, in 1620, the Pilgrim Fathers planted in this country the exact

rights which those at home in England obtained by the beheading of Charles I and the expulsion of his son, James II, from the throne. They brought with them the abandonment of feudalism; they brought the abolition of primogeniture; they brought the annulment of the entail law; they brought the destruction of the privileges of the nobility; they brought and founded here sixty-eight years before it was realized in England, all the great reforms for which two bloody revolutions were fought—revolutions which cost one king his head and another his crown in Old England.

Mr. President, I should like to see this brilliant company seated at a typical New England feast of the olden time,—a feast spread on tables that came over in the *Mayflower*,—you can find plenty of them at home; the guests seated on chairs that belonged to John Alden and Miles Standish,—and no well-regulated New England family is without a broken assortment of them. It would be extremely edifying to see a feast that should reproduce as far as might be the harder times and the coarser fare which they endured in order that we might enjoy the more bounteous and more sumptuous repast with which we are indulged to-day by the New England Society of New York—and I

almost catch my breath when I say the New England Society of New York—you do not know how we regard it in New England! There are a great many men in New England who aspire to a seat in Congress, first in the House, and then in the Senate, and thence forward or backward to the Cabinet, and then, under the inspiration of the strong air and the mountain scenery of Vermont aspire still higher [turning around to Mr. Evarts—a movement which provoked loud laughter]. But that is only the few. The one thing which every boy, as he grows up in New England, looks forward to as the crowning glory of his life, is to dine on some auspicious day with the New England Society of New York. Without this, his sum of human happiness is incomplete. I have received your invitation for many years past, but it has been my misfortune never to have been able to be present until now, and I am here this evening to acknowledge all the pleasure I enjoy in the present, and to express my regret for all that I have missed in the past? And while we are enjoying this dinner and complimenting ourselves—or I am complimenting you—I should like, Mr. President, to impress upon every New Englander, whether seated at the primitive table of coarse fare or the

modern table of costly luxury, that with one voice we should echo the declaration of our distinguished friend, the Secretary of the Treasurer [Mr. Sherman], in favor of an honest dollar, and declare with equal earnestness our faith in an honest ballot! The principles of our Fathers demand that we should supplement the peaceful and promising picture drawn by the eloquent Secretary of State [Mr. Evarts] with the resolution that wherever an honest dollar circulates, an honest ballot shall sustain it. I could wish that in this respect the habit and the practice of the New England States might spread rapidly and succeed completely throughout the whole country. For I am reminded, with a citizen of Massachusetts on one side of me and a native of Massachusetts on the other, that in that great Commonwealth, in a hotly-contested election, in which the passions and pride and prejudices of men were enlisted, there was a contest so close that the party in power, having, as we would say, all the counters in their possessions, in a total poll of more than one hundred thousand votes were beaten by a majority of one—and Edward Everett the Whig walked out and Marcus Morton the Democrat walked in. None but the English-speaking people have yet been

fully educated in the belief that a majority of one is as good as a majority of one hundred thousand, but we do believe it and we practice it and abide by it in New England. I need not say that a majority going even into the millions, if it be founded on force or fraud, will never bring contentment or peace or honor or profit to the people of the United States.

Mr. President, I thank you very sincerely, I thank you all, gentlemen of the New England Society, for the cordiality of your welcome. In this inspiring scene, in this brilliant assemblage, surrounded with every thing that gives comfort and grace and elegance to social life, in this meeting, protected by law, itself representing law, let me recall one sad memory—the memory of those who in 1620 landed on the Plymouth shore, and did not survive the first year. Of all the men engaged in heroic contests, those deserve our tenderest remembrance who, making all the sacrifice and enduring all the hardship, are not permitted to enjoy the triumph. Quincy died before the first shot was fired in the Revolution which he did so much to create; Warren was killed at the first clash of arms in defense of the cause which was so sacred to his patriotic heart; Reynolds, rallying his corps for the

critical battle of Gettysburg, fell while yet its fate was doubtful; McPherson, in the great march to the sea, lost his life before the triumphant close of that daring and romantic expedition. For these and all like unto them, from Plymouth Rock to the last battlefield of the civil war, who perished in their pride, and perished before they could know that they were dying not in vain but for a cause destined to victory, I offer, and I am sure you will join with me in offering, our veneration and our homage!

Selections from Important Letters.

When the bill restricting Chinese immigration was passed, Mr. Blaine gave it his support. Mr. William Lloyd Garrison followed this action with some severe strictures upon the course pursued by those gentlemen of the Senate who stood with Mr. Blaine in this vote. To these reflections Mr. Blaine replied in the following letter. The document is full and frank, and its statement of facts is fortified by testimonies of the most reliable character.

CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

[Letter from Mr. Blaine answering certain objections.]

UNITED STATES SENATE CHAMBER,
WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 21, 1879.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE:

The reflections of Mr. William Lloyd Garrison upon the Senators who voted for the bill restricting Chinese immigration are made, I think, without the thorough examination which that gentleman usually

brings to the discussion of public questions. Permit me, with plainness of speech, and yet with no abatement of my sincere respect for Mr. Garrison, to state the grounds on which I cast my vote for the measure.

Up to October 1, 1876, the records of the San Francisco custom-house show that 233,136 Chinese had arrived in this country and that 93,273 had returned to China. The immigration since has been large, and allowing for returns and deaths, the best statistics I can procure show that about 109,000 Chinese are in California and from 20,000 to 25,000 in the adjacent States and Territories—in all 130,000 to 135,000 on the West coast.

Of this large population fully nine-tenths are adult males. The women have not in all numbered over seven thousand, and, according to all accounts, they are impure and lewd far beyond the Anglo-Saxon conception of impurity and lewdness. One of the best-informed Californians I ever met, says that not one score of decent and pure women could ever have been found in the whole Chinese immigration. It is only in the imagined, rather I hope the unimagined, feculence and foulness of Sodom and Gomorrah that any parallel can be found to the atrocious nastiness of the Chinese quarter of

San Francisco. I speak of this from abounding testimony—largely from those who have had personal opportunity to study the subject in its revolting details. In the entire Chinese population of the Pacific coast scarcely one family is to be found; no hearthstone of comfort, no fireside of joy; no father or mother, or brother or sister; no child reared by parents; no domestic or ennobling influences; no ties of affection. The relation of wife is degraded beyond all description, the females who hold and dishonor that sacred name being sold and transferred from one man to another, without shame and without fear; one woman being at the same time the wife to several men. Many of these women came to San Francisco under written contracts for prostitution, openly entered into. I have myself read the translation of some of these abominable documents. If as a nation we have the right to keep out infectious diseases, if we have the right to exclude the criminal classes, we surely possess the right to exclude that immigration which reeks with impurity and which cannot come to us without plenteously sowing the seeds of moral and physical disease, of destitution, and of death.

The Chinese immigration to California began

with the American immigration in 1848. The two races have been side by side for more than thirty years, nearly an entire generation, and not one step toward assimilation has been taken. The Chinese occupy their peculiar quarter in the city, adhere to their own dress, speak their own language, worship in their own heathen temples, and inside the municipal law and independent of it, administer a code among themselves, even pronouncing the death penalty and executing it in criminal secrecy. If this were for a year only, or for two or five or even ten years, it might be claimed that more time is needed for domestication and assimilation; but this has been going on for an entire generation, and the Chinaman to-day approaches no nearer to our civilization than he did when the Golden Gate first received him. In sworn testimony before an investigating Committee of Congress, Dr. Mears, the health officer of San Francisco, (described as "a careful and learned man"), testified that the condition of the Chinese quarter is "horrible, inconceivably horrible!" He stated that the Chinese as a rule "live in large tenement houses, large numbers crowded into individual rooms, without proper ventilation, with bad drainage, and underground, with a great deal

of filth, the odors from which are horrible." He described their "mode of taking a room ten feet high and putting a flooring half way to the ceiling, both floors being crowded at night with sleepers. In these crowded dens cases of small-pox were concealed from the police." "They live underground in bunks. The topography of that portion of Chinadom is such that you enter a house sometimes and think that it is a one-story house and you will find two or three stories down below on the side of the hill, where they live in great filth."

Another close and accurate observer, long a resident of California, says "the only wonder is that desolating pestilences have not ensued. Small-pox has often been epidemic, and could always be traced to Chinese origin. The Chinese quarter was once occupied by shops, churches, and dwellings of Americans. Now these are as thoroughly Mongolian as any part of Canton. All other races flee from the contact." Dr. Mears further testified and gave many revolting details in proof that the Chinese "are cruel and indifferent to their sick." He described cases of Chinese lepers at the city hospital: "Their feet dropped off by dry gangrene and their hands were wasted and attenuated. Their finger-nails dropped off." He said "the Chinese

were gradually working Eastward and would by and by crowd into Eastern cities, where the conditions under which they live in San Francisco would produce in the absence of its climatic advantages, destructive pestilences." Perhaps a Chinese quarter in Boston, with forty thousand Mongolians located somewhere between the south end and the north end of the city and separating the two, would give Mr. Garrison some new views as to the power and right of a nation to exclude moral and physical pestilence from its borders. In San Francisco there is no hot weather, the thermometer rarely rising above sixty-five degrees. One of the most intelligent physicians in the United States says that the Chinese quarter of San Francisco transferred to St. Louis, Chicago, Cincinnati, or any Eastern city would in a hot summer breed a plague equal to the "black death" that has so often alarmed the civilized world. When Mr. Garrison says the immigration of Englishmen, Irishmen, Scotchmen, Frenchmen, Germans, and Scandinavians must be put on the same footing as the Chinese coolies, he confounds all distinctions, and, of course, without intending it, libels almost the entire white population whose blood is inherited from the races he names. All the immigration

from Europe to-day assimilates at once with its own blood on this soil, and to place the Chinese coolies on the same footing is to shut one's eyes to all the instincts of human nature and all the teachings of history.

Is it not inevitable that a class of men living in this degraded and filthy condition, and on the poorest of food, can work for less than the American laborer is entitled to receive for his daily toil? Put the two classes of labor side by side, and the cheap servile labor pulls down the more manly toil to its level. The free white laborer never could compete with the slave labor of the South. In the Chinaman the white laborer finds only another form of servile competition—in some aspects more revolting and corrupting than African slavery. Whoever contends for the unrestricted immigration of Chinese coolies contends for that system of toil which blights the prospects of the white laborer—dooming him to starvation wages, killing his ambition by rendering his struggle hopeless, and ending in a plodding and pitiable poverty. Nor is it a truthful answer to say that this danger is remote. Remote it may be for Mr. Garrison, for the city of Boston and for New England, but it is instant and pressing on the Pacific Slope. The

late Caleb Cushing, who had carefully studied the Chinese question ever since his mission to Peking in 1842, maintained that, unless resisted by the United States, the first general famine in China would be followed by an immigration to California that would swamp the white race on the Pacific Slope. I observe that a New England newspaper—I especially regret that such ignorance should be shown in New England—says it is only “a strip” on the Pacific that the Chinaman seeks for a home. The Chinese are already scattered over three States and two adjacent Territories whose area is larger than the original thirteen colonies. California alone is larger than New England, New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio, and is capable of maintaining a vast population of Anglo-Saxon freemen if we do not surrender it to Chinese coolies.

Before the same Committee of Investigation, from whose report I have already quoted, Mr. T. W. Jackson, a man of high character, who had traveled extensively in the East, testified that his strong belief was “that if the Chinese felt that they were safe and had a firm footing in California they would come in enormous numbers, because the population of China is practically inex-

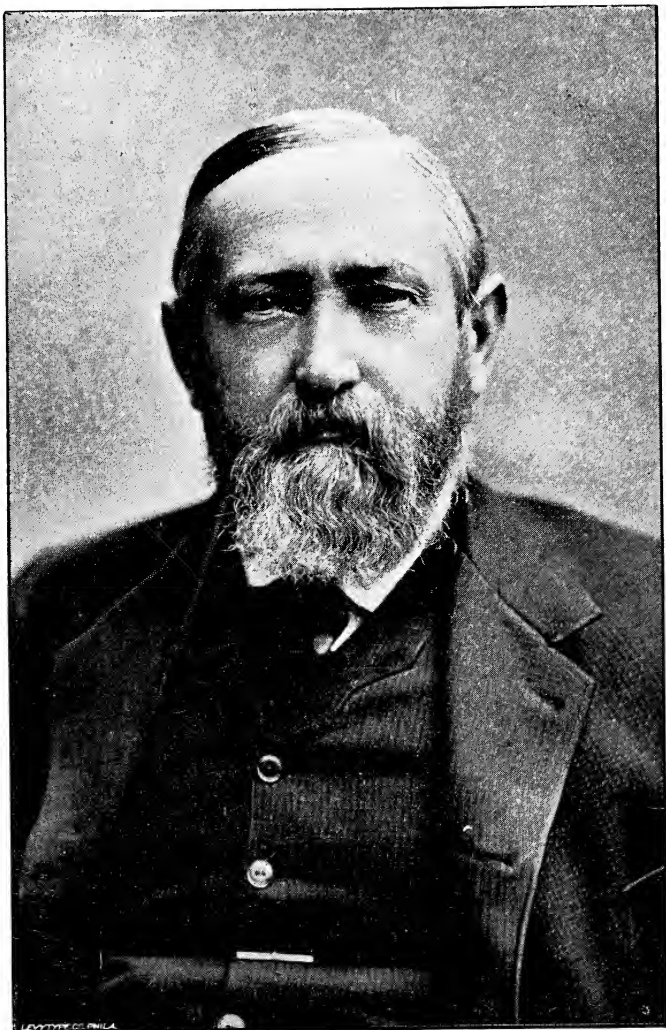
haustible." Such, indeed, is the unbroken testimony of all who are entitled to express an opinion. The decision of Congress on this matter, therefore, becomes of the very last importance. Had it been in favor of Chinese immigration, with the encouragement which such a decision would have implied, it requires no vivid imagination to foresee that the great slope between the Sierras and the Pacific would become the emigrating ground for the Chinese Empire. I do not exaggerate, therefore, when I say that on the adoption or rejection of the policy passed upon by Congress hangs the fate of the Pacific Slope—whether its labor shall be that of American freemen or servile Mongolians. If Mr. Garrison thinks the interests of his own countrymen, his own Government, and, in a still larger sense, the interests of humanity and civilization will be promoted by giving up the Pacific Coast to Mongolian labor, I beg respectfully but firmly to differ from him. There is no ground on which we are bound to receive them to our own detriment. Charity is the first of Christian graces. But Mr. Garrison would not feel obliged to receive into his family a person that would physically contaminate or morally corrupt his children. As with a family, so with a nation: the same instinct of self-preserva-

tion exists, the same right to prefer the interest of our own people, the same duty to exclude that which is corrupting and dangerous to the Republic!

The outcry that we are violating our treaty obligations is without foundation. The article on emigration in the treaty has not been observed by China for a single hour since it was made. All the testimony taken on the subject—and it has been full and direct—shows conclusively that the entire emigration was “under contract;” that the coolies had been gathered together for export and gathered as agents in our Western States would gather live stock for shipment. A very competent witness in California, speaking to this point, says that:

“On the arrival of the Chinese in California they are consigned like hogs to the different Chinese companies, their contracts are *vised*, and the cooly commences to pay to the companies fees to insure care if he is taken sick and his return home dead or alive. His return is prevented until after his contract has been entirely fulfilled. If he breaks his contract the spies of the six companies hunt him to prevent his returning to China by arrangements with the steamship company or their agents in the steamship employ to prevent his getting a ticket. The agents of the steamship companies testified to this same fact. If a ticket is obtained for him by others he is forcibly stopped on the day of sailing by the employes of the six companies, called ‘high-binders,’ who can always be seen guarding the coolies.”

Mr. Joseph J. Ray, a Philadelphia merchant,



HON. BENJAMIN HARRISON.

long resident in China, and a close observer of its emigration, says "that 999-1000 of the Chinese who have reached our shores were not free agents in their coming. Files of the Hong-Kong newspapers from 1861 would supply information regarding the 'barracoons' at that port, and when the system had become too great a scandal, their removal to Macao (a Portuguese colony, forty miles distant), in which 'barracoons,' the Chinese, in every sense prisoners, were retained until their shipment to San Francisco, Callao, Havana, and other ports. These, called by courtesy, immigrants, were collected from within a radius of two or three hundred miles from Canton, and consisted of the abjectly poor, who, willingly or not, were sold to obtain food for their families, or for gambling debts (the Chinese, as you are aware, being inveterate gamblers), or the scapegraces of the country fleeing to avoid punishment."

It is, of course, a mere misuse of terms to call this an "entirely voluntary emigration," and yet none other was permissible under the Burlingame Treaty. Our Government would be clearly justified in disregarding the treaty on the single ground that the Chinese Government had never respected its provisions. But without reference to that, our

Government possesses the right to abrogate the treaty if it adjudges that its continuance is "pernicious to the State." Indeed, the two pending propositions in the Senate differ not in regard to our own right to abrogate the treaty, but simply as to whether we should do it in July, 1879, by the exercise of our power without further notice to China, or whether we should do it in January, 1880, after notifying China that we had made up our minds to do it. Nearly a year ago Congress by joint resolution expressed its discontent with the existing treaty, and thus clearly gave notice to the civilized world—if notice were needful—of the desire and intention of our people. In the late action of Congress the opposing proposition—moved as a substitute for the bill to which I gave my support—requested the President to notify the Emperor of China that Chinese immigration is "unsatisfactory and pernicious," and in effect if he would not modify the treaty as we desired, then the President should notify the Emperor that after January 1, 1880, the United States will "treat the obnoxious stipulations as at an end." Both propositions—the bill that we passed and the substitute that we rejected—assumed alike the full right to abrogate the treaty. Whether it were better to abrogate it

after last year's joint resolution, or to inform the Emperor of China directly that if he will not consent to the change "we shall make it anyhow," must be relegated for decision to the schools of taste and etiquette. The first proposition resting on our clear Constitutional power seems to me a better mode of proceeding than to ask the Emperor of China to consent to a modification and inform him at the same time that, whether he consents or not, we shall on next New Year's Day treat "the obnoxious stipulations as at end." As to the power of Congress to do just what has been done no one will entertain a doubt who examines the whole question. An admirable summary of the right and power is found in an opinion delivered by that eminent jurist, Benjamin R. Curtis, when he was a judge of the United States Supreme Court. Judge Curtis said:

"It cannot be admitted that the only method of escape from a treaty is by the consent of the other party to it or a declaration of war. To refuse to execute a treaty for reasons which approve themselves to the conscientious judgment of a nation is a matter of the utmost gravity; *but the power to do so is a prerogative of which no nation can be deprived without deeply affecting its independence.* That the people of the United States have deprived their Government of this power I do not believe. That it must reside somewhere, and be applicable *to all cases*, I am convinced, *and I feel no doubt that it belongs to Congress.*"

A great deal has been said about the danger to our trade if China should resort to some form of retaliation. The natural and pertinent retaliation is to restrict American immigration to China. Against that we will enter no protest, and should have no right to do so. The talk about China closing her ports to our trade is made only by those who do not understand the question. Last year the total amount of our exports to all Chinese ports outside of Hong-Kong was but \$692,000. I have called Hong-Kong a Chinese port, but every one knows it is under British control, and if we were at war with China to-day Hong-Kong would be as open to us as Liverpool. To speak of China punishing us by suspending trade is only the suggestion of ignorance. We pay China a large balance in coin, and probably we always shall do it. But if the trade question had the importance which some have erroneously attributed to it, I would not seek its continuance by permitting a vicious immigration of Chinese coolies. The Bristol merchants cried out that commerce would be ruined if England persisted in destroying the slave trade. But England did not sacrifice her honor by yielding to the cry.

The enlightened religious sentiment of the Pacific

coast views with profound alarm the tendency and effect of unrestricted Chinese immigration. The "pastors and delegates of the Congregational churches of California" a year since expressed their "conviction" that "the Burlingame Treaty ought to be so modified *by the General Government* as to restrict Chinese immigration." Rev. S. V. Blakeslee, editor of the oldest religious paper on the Pacific coast, spoke thus in an official address: -

"Moreover, wealthy English and American companies have organized great money-making plans for bringing millions—it is true—even millions—of these Chinese into our State, and into all parts of the Union; and they have sent out emissaries into China to induce the people, by every true and false story, to migrate here. Already *two hundred and fifty thousand* have come, of whom *one hundred thousand* remain.

"The tendency of all this is tremendously toward evil; toward vice and abomination; toward all opposed to the true spirit of Americanism; and is very dangerous to our morality, to our stability, and to our success as a people and a nation. Millions more of these Chinese must come if not prevented by any legal, or moral, or mobocratic restraint, increasing incalculably by numbers the evils already existing; while a spirit of race prejudices and claniship jealousies and a conflict of interests must be developed, portending possible evil beyond all description."

In regard to the process of converting and Christianizing this people, a missionary who has been in the field since 1849 testifies that not one in a thousand has even nominally professed a

change from heathenism, and that of this small number nearly one-half has been taught in missionary schools in China. The same missionary says, "as they come in still larger numbers they will more effectually support each other in their national peculiarities and vices, become still more confirmed in heathen immoralities, with an influence in every respect incalculably bad." Under what possible sense of duty any American can feel that he promotes Christianity by the process of handing California over to heathenism, is more than I am able to discover.

This question connects itself intimately and inseparably with the labor question. Immigration of the Chinese is encouraged by some openly, by many secretly, because their labor is cheap. The experiment is a most dangerous one. In a Republic where the man who works carries a ballot in his hands, it will not do for capitalized wealth to legislate for cheap labor. We do not want cheap labor; we do not want dear labor. We want labor at fair rates—at rates that shall give the laborer his fair share, and capital its fair share. If more is sought by capital, less will in the end be realized. There is not a laboring-man from the Penobscot to the Sacramento who would not feel aggrieved, outraged,

burdened, crushed, by being forced into competition with the labor and the wages of the Chinese cooly. For one, I will never consent by my vote or my voice to drive the intelligent workingmen of America to that competition and that degradation. Mr. Garrison spent the best years of an honored life in a courageous battle for the freedom and dignity of labor, and for its emancipation from thralldom. I trust he will not lessen the gratitude which the workingmen of America owe him for his noble lead in the past by an effort now to consign them to the humiliation and the poverty inevitably resulting from the competition of Chinese coolies.

Years ago, Mr. Carlyle said to an American friend, "You will have no trouble in your country so long as you have few people and much land; but when you have much people and little land, your trials will begin." No one connected in any manner with the government of the Republic can view the situation without grave concern. At least nine large States of the South are disturbed by a race trouble, of which no man is yet wise enough to see the end; the central and largest and wealthiest of our Territories is seized by a polygamous population which flaunts defiance in the face of the General Government; discontent among unem-

ployed thousands has already manifested a spirit of violence, and but recently arrested travel between the Atlantic and the Mississippi by armed mobs which defied three States and commanded great trunk-lines of railway to cease operations. Practical statesmanship would suggest that the Government of the United States should avoid the increase of race troubles, and that nothing but sheer recklessness will force upon the American population of the Pacific slope the odious contamination of the lowest grade of the Chinese race. It may be attempted; but, in my judgment, it will lead to direful results, in which violence and murders and massacres will be terribly frequent. Let it be proclaimed here and now that the General Government will maintain unrestricted immigration of Chinese coolies, and in less than five years a larger military force than the existing Army of the United States will be required to keep peace on the Pacific slope. I feel that I am pleading the cause of the free American laborer, and of his children and of his children's children—the cause in short of “the house against the hovel; of the comforts of the freeman against the squalor of the slave.”

When Garfield was elected he at once tendered the portfolio of the State Department to Blaine. The friendship between the two had always been strong and deep-rooted and there was no better tribute which could possibly be paid to a defeated but friendly rival than this action upon the part of the newly-elected President. Blaine at once resigned from the Senate and accepted the new trust in a letter to the President-elect, which created a great deal of excitement and interest at the time. His friends and admirers pointed to it with pride as a document ringing with truth and manliness while his opponents and enemies saw in its pages only dissimulation and a secret determination to make himself the power behind the throne of the new administration, having nothing further in view than the ultimate furthering of his own personal interests.

Mr. Blaine wrote:

“WASHINGTON, December 20, 1880.

“MY DEAR GARFIELD—Your generous invitation to enter your Cabinet as Secretary of State has been under consideration for more than three weeks. The thought had really never occurred to my mind until at our late conference you presented it with such cogent arguments in its favor and with

such warmth of personal friendship in aid of your kind offer.

“I know that an early answer is desirable, and I have waited only long enough to consider the subject in all its bearings and to make up my mind definitely and conclusively. I now say to you, in the same cordial spirit in which you have invited me, that I accept the position.

“It is no affectation for me to add that I make this decision, not for the honor of the promotion it gives me in the public service, but because I think I can be useful to the country and to the party; useful to you as the responsible leader of the party and the great head of the Government.

“I am influenced somewhat, perhaps, by the shower of letters I have received urging me to accept, written to me in consequence of the mere unauthorized newspaper report that you had been pleased to offer me the place. While I have received these letters from all sections of the Union, I have been especially pleased and even surprised at the cordial and widely extended feeling in my favor throughout New England, where I had expected to encounter local jealousy and perhaps rival aspiration.

“In our new relation I shall give all that I am

and all that I can hope to be, freely and joyfully, to your service. You need no pledge of my loyalty in heart and in act. I should be false to myself did I not prove true both to the great trust you confide to me and to your own personal and political fortunes in the present and in the future. Your administration must be made brilliantly successful and strong in the confidence and pride of the people, not at all directing its energies for re-election, and yet compelling that result by the logic of events and by the imperious necessities of the situation.

“To that most desirable consummation I feel that, next to yourself, I can possibly contribute as much influence as any other one man. I say this not from egotism or vainglory, but merely as a deduction from a plain analysis of the political forces which have been at work in the country for five years past, and which have been significantly shown in two great national conventions. I accept it as one of the happiest circumstances connected with this affair that in allying my political fortunes with yours—or rather for the time merging mine in yours—my heart goes with my head, and that I carry to you not only political support but personal and devoted friendship. I can but regard it as somewhat remarkable that two men of the same

age, entering Congress at the same time, influenced by the same aims and cherishing the same ambitions, should never, for a single moment in eighteen years of close intimacy, have had a misunderstanding or a coolness, and that our friendship has steadily grown with our growth and strengthened with our strength.

“It is this fact which has led me to the conclusion embodied in this letter; for, however much, my dear Garfield, I might admire you as a statesman, I would not enter your Cabinet if I did not believe in you as a man and love you as a friend.

“Always faithfully yours,

“JAMES G. BLAINE.”

Mr. Blaine's love for his birthplace is shown by the following letter, which he wrote a few days before the death of President Garfield, and which illustrates his mastery of that graceful and eloquent style, in which he easily excels all other public men of this generation:

“WASHINGTON, D. C., September 5, 1881.

“*To John McKennan, Esq., Washington, Pa.:*

“DEAR SIR—I had anticipated great pleasure in being present at the centennial celebration of the

erection of Washington County, but the national sorrow which shadows every household detains me here. I shall, perhaps, never again have the opportunity of seeing so many of my blood and kindred, and you may well conceive that my disappointment is great. The strong attachment which I feel for the county, the pride which I cherish in its traditions, and the high estimate which I have always placed on the character of its people, increase with years and reflection. The pioneers were strong-hearted, God-fearing, resolute men, wholly, or almost wholly, of Scotch or Scotch-Irish descent. They were men, who, according to an inherited maxim, never turned their backs upon a friend or an enemy.

* * * * *

“It would be impossible to overestimate the benefit and wide-spread influence which Washington and Jefferson College have exerted on the civilization of that great country between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi river. Their graduates have been prominent in the pulpit, at the bar, on the bench and in the high stations of public life. During my service of eighteen years in Congress, I have met a larger number of the alumni of Washington and Jefferson than of any

other single college in the United States. I make this statement from memory, but I feel assured that a close examination of the rolls of the two houses from 1863 to 1881 would fully establish its correctness. It was inevitable that a county thus peopled should grow in strength, wisdom and wealth. Its 60,000 inhabitants are favored far beyond the average lot of man:

“They are blessed with a fertile soil, and with the health-giving climate which belongs to the charmed latitude of the 40th parallel, the middle of the wheat and corn belt of the country. Beyond this, they enjoy the happy and ennobling influences of scenery as grand and as beautiful as that which lures tourists thousands of miles beyond the sea. I have myself visited many of the celebrated spots in Europe and in America, and I have nowhere witnessed a more attractive sight than was familiar to my eyes in boyhood from the old Indian Hill Farm, where I was born, and where my great grandfather, the elder Neal Gillespie, settled before the outbreak of the Revolution. The majestic sweep of the Monongahela through the foot-hills of the Alleghenies, with the chain of mountains but twenty miles distant in full view, gave an impression of beauty and sublimity which can never be effaced.

“I talk thus familiarly of the localities and of childhood incidents because your assemblage, though composed of thousands, will, in effect, be a family reunion, where the only thing in order will be tradition and recollection and personal history. Identified as I have been for twenty-eight years with the great and noble people of another section of the Union, I have never lost any of my attachment for my native county and my native State. Wherever I may be in life or whatever my fortunes, the county of Washington, as it anciently was, taking in both sides of the Monongahela, will be sacred in my memory. I shall always recall with pride that my ancestry and kindred were and are not inconspicuously connected with its history, and that on either side of the beautiful river, in the Protestant and in the Catholic cemeteries, five generations of my own blood sleep in honored graves.

“Very sincerely yours,

“JAMES G. BLAINE.”

Every one knows that Mr. Blaine was defeated in 1884 by “Rum, Romanism, Rebellion,” and even now there are many who are not positive

whether he was a Catholic or a Protestant. The following letter written by him to Dr. James King, of Pittsburg, clearly sets forth his views on the subject. The letter was dated Washington, D. C., March 10, 1876, and is as follows:

“MY DEAR FRIEND—I agree with you that the charge of my being a Catholic is very provoking, considering the motive that inspires it; and very exasperating when I see it connived at, if not, in fact, originated by men who sat with me in Bible class when I was a student and you a professor in Washington College. This charge is part and parcel of the tactics of the Cameron gang to rob me of the Pennsylvania delegates, when, in fact, four-fifths of the Republicans in that State desire my nomination. My ancestors on my father’s side were, as you know, always identified with the Presbyterian Church, and they were prominent and honored in the old colony of Pennsylvania several generations before the Camerons blessed Scotland by leaving it.

“But, while thanking you for what you have done to set my Pittsburg friends right on this question, I will never consent to make any public declaration upon the subject, and for two reasons: First, because I abhor the introduction of anything

that looks like a religious test, or qualification for office in a Republic where perfect freedom of conscience is the birthright of every citizen; and, second, because my mother was, as you well know, a devoted Catholic. I would not for a thousand Presidences speak a disrespectful word of my mother's religion, and no pressure will draw me into an avowal of hostility, or unfriendliness, to Catholics, though I have never received and do not expect any support from them. You are at liberty to show this to the gentleman who urged you to write to me.

“Always sincerely your friend,

“J. G. BLAINE.

The platform adopted by the National Republican Convention expressed the principles of the party. It remained for the candidate to make a direct and explicit personal utterance on the leading issues of the day, which should be, in a great measure, the keynote of public discussion during the campaign. This Mr. Blaine did in his formal letter of acceptance, which is worthy of preservation and study as a text book of American patriotism, and of the principles of American policy and American citizenship. It is here reproduced in full:

AUGUSTA, ME., July 15, 1884.

*The Hon. John B. Henderson and Others of the
Committee, etc.:*

GENTLEMEN—In accepting the nomination for the Presidency tendered me by the National Republican Convention, I beg to express a deep sense of the honor which is conferred, and of the duty which is imposed. I venture to accompany the acceptance with some observations upon the questions involved in the contest—questions whose settlement may affect the future of the Nation favorably or unfavorably for a long series of years.

In enumerating the issues upon which the Republican party appeals for popular support, the Convention has been singularly explicit and felicitous. It has properly given the leading position to the industrial interests of the country as affected by the tariff on imports. On that question the two political parties are radically in conflict. Almost the first act of the Republicans, when they came into power in 1861, was the establishment of the principle of protection to American labor and to American capital. This principle the Republican party has ever since steadily maintained, while on the other hand the Democratic party in Con-

gress has for fifty years persistently warred upon it. Twice within that period our opponents have destroyed tariffs arranged for protection, and since the close of the Civil War, whenever they have controlled the House of Representatives, hostile legislation has been attempted—never more conspicuously than in their principal measure at the late session of Congress.

Revenue laws are in their very nature subject to frequent revision in order that they may be adapted to the changes and modifications of trade. The Republican party is not contending for the permanency of any particular statute. The issue between the two parties does not have reference to a specific law. It is far broader and far deeper. It involves a principle of wide application and beneficent influence, against a theory which we believe to be unsound in conception and inevitably hurtful in practice. In the many tariff revisions which have been necessary for the past twenty-three years, or which may hereafter become necessary, the Republican party has maintained and will maintain the policy of protection to American industry, while our opponents insist upon a revision which practically destroys that policy. The issue is thus distinct, well-defined, and unavoidable. The pend-

ing election may determine the fate of protection for a generation. The overthrow of the policy means a large and permanent reduction in the wages of the American laborer, besides involving the loss of vast amounts of American capital invested in manufacturing enterprises. The value of the present revenue system to the people of the United States is not a matter of theory, and I shall submit no argument to sustain it. I only invite attention to certain facts of official record which seem to constitute a demonstration.

In the census of 1850, an effort was made for the first time in our history to obtain a valuation of all the property in the United States. The attempt was in a large degree unsuccessful. Partly from lack of time, partly from prejudice among many who thought the inquiries foreshadowed a new scheme of taxation, the returns were incomplete and unsatisfactory. Little more was done than to consolidate the local valuation used in the States for purposes of assessment, and that, as every one knows, differs widely from a complete exhibit of all the property.

In the census of 1860, however, the work was done with great thoroughness—the distinction between “assessed” value and “true” value being

carefully observed. The grand result was that the "true value" of all the property in the States and Territories (excluding slaves) amounted to fourteen thousand millions of dollars (\$14,000,000,000). This aggregate was the net result of the labor and the savings of all the people within the area of the United States, from the time the British colonists landed in 1607, down to the year 1860. It represented the fruit of the toil of two hundred and fifty years.

After 1860, the business of the country was encouraged and developed by a protective tariff. At the end of twenty years, the total property of the United States, as returned by the census of 1880, amounted to the enormous aggregate of forty-four thousand millions of dollars (\$44,000,000,000). This great result was attained, notwithstanding the fact that countless millions had, in the interval, been wasted in the progress of a bloody war. It thus appears, that while our population between 1860 and 1880 increased sixty per cent., the aggregate property increased two hundred and fourteen per cent., showing a vastly enhanced wealth *per capita* among the people. Thirty thousand millions of dollars (\$30,000,000,000) had been added during these twenty years to the permanent wealth of the Nation.

These results are regarded by the older nations of the world as phenomenal. That our country should surmount the peril and the cost of a gigantic war, and for an entire period of twenty years make an average gain to its wealth of \$125,000,000 per month, surpasses the experience of all other nations, ancient or modern. Even the opponents of the present revenue system do not pretend that in the whole history of civilization any parallel can be found to the material progress of the United States since the accession of the Republican party to power.

The period between 1860 and to-day has not been one of material prosperity only. At no time in the history of the United States has there been such progress in the moral and philanthropic field. Religious and charitable institutions, schools, seminaries and colleges have been founded and endowed far more generously than at any previous time in our history. Greater and more varied relief has been extended to human suffering, and the entire progress of the country in wealth has been accompanied and dignified by a broadening and elevation of our National character as a people.

Our opponents find fault that our revenue system produces a surplus. But they should not forget

that the law has given a specific purpose to which all of the surplus is profitably and honorably applied—the reduction of the public debt and the consequent relief of the burden of taxation. No dollar has been wasted, and the only extravagance with which the party stands charged, is the generous pensioning of soldiers, sailors, and their families—an extravagance which embodies the highest form of justice in the recognition and payment of a sacred debt. When reduction of taxation is to be made, the Republican party can be trusted to accomplish it in such form as will most effectively aid the industries of the Nation.

A frequent accusation by our opponents is that the foreign commerce of the country has steadily decayed under the influence of the protective tariff. In this way they seek to array the importing interests against the Republican party. It is a common and yet radical error to confound the commerce of the country with its carrying trade—an error often committed innocently and sometimes designedly—but an error so gross that it does not distinguish between the ship and the cargo. Foreign commerce represents the exports and imports of a country, regardless of the nationality of the vessel that may carry the commodities of exchange. Our carrying

trade has, from some obvious causes, suffered many discouragements since 1860, but our foreign commerce has in the same period steadily and prodigiously increased—increased, indeed, at a rate and to an amount which absolutely dwarf all previous developments of our trade beyond the sea. From 1860 to the present time, the foreign commerce of the United States (divided with approximate equality between exports and imports) reached the astounding aggregate of twenty-four thousand millions of dollars (\$24,000,000,000). The balance in this vast commerce inclined in our favor, but it would have been much larger if our trade with the countries of America—elsewhere referred to—had been more wisely adjusted.

It is difficult even to appreciate the magnitude of our export trade since 1860, and we can gain a correct conception of it only by comparison with preceding results in the same field. The total exports from the United States from the Declaration of Independence in 1776 down to the day of Lincoln's election in 1860, added to all that had previously been exported from the American colonies from their original settlement, amounted to less than nine thousand millions of dollars (\$9,000,000,000). On the other hand,

our exports from 1860 to the close of the last fiscal year exceeded twelve thousand millions of dollars (\$12,000,000,000)—the whole of it being the product of American labor. Evidently a protective tariff has not injured our export trade, when, under its influence, we exported in twenty-four years 40 per cent. more than the total amount that had been exported in the entire previous history of American commerce. All the details, when analyzed, correspond with this gigantic result. The commercial cities of the Union never had such growth as they have enjoyed since 1860. Our chief emporium, the city of New York, with its dependencies, has within that period doubled her population and increased her wealth fivefold. During the same period, the imports and exports which have entered and left her harbor are more than double in bulk and value, the whole amount imported and exported by her between the settlement of the first Dutch colony on the Island of Manhattan and the outbreak of the Civil War in 1860.

The agricultural interest is by far the largest in the Nation, and is entitled, in every adjustment of revenue laws, to the first consideration. Any policy hostile to the fullest development of agriculture in the United States must be abandoned.

Realizing this fact, the opponents of the present system of revenue have labored very earnestly to persuade the farmers of the United States that they are robbed by a protective tariff, and the effort is thus made to consolidate their vast influence in favor of free trade. But, happily, the farmers of America are intelligent, and cannot be misled by sophistry when conclusive facts are before them. They see plainly that, during the past twenty-four years, wealth has not been acquired in one section or by one interest at the expense of another section or another interest. They see that the agricultural States have made even more rapid progress than the manufacturing States.

The farmers see that in 1860 Massachusetts and Illinois had about the same wealth—between \$800,000,000 and \$900,000,000 each—and that in 1880 Massachusetts had advanced to \$2,600,000,000, while Illinois had advanced to \$3,200,000,000. They see that New Jersey and Iowa were just equal in population in 1860, and that in twenty years the wealth of New Jersey was increased by the sum of \$850,000,000, while the wealth of Iowa was increased by the sum of \$1,500,000,000. They see that the nine leading agricultural States of the West had grown so rapidly in prosperity that the aggre-

gate addition to their wealth in 1860 is almost as great as the wealth of the entire country in that year. They see that the South, which is almost exclusively agricultural, has shared in the general prosperity, and that, having recovered from the loss and devastation of war, it has gained so rapidly that its total wealth is at least the double of that which it possessed in 1860, exclusive of slaves.

In these extraordinary developments the farmers see the helpful impulse of a home market, and they see that the financial and revenue system, enacted since the Republican party came into power, has established and constantly expanded the home market. They see that even in the case of wheat, which is our chief cereal export, they have sold, in the average of the years since the close of the war, three bushels at home to one they have sold abroad, and that in the case of corn, the only other cereal which we export to any extent, one hundred bushels have been used at home to three and a-half bushels exported. In some years the disparity has been so great that for every peck of corn exported one hundred bushels have been consumed in the home market. The farmers see that, in the increasing competition from the grain fields of Russia and from the

distant plains of India, the growth of the home market becomes daily of greater concern to them, and that its impairment would depreciate the value of every acre of tillable land in the Union.

Such facts as these, touching the growth and consumption of cereals at home, give us some slight conception of the vastness of the internal commerce of the United States. They suggest also, that in addition to the advantages which the American people enjoy from protection against foreign competition, they enjoy the advantages of absolute free trade over a larger area and with a greater population than any other nation. The internal commerce of our thirty-eight States and nine Territories is carried on without let or hindrance, without tax, detention, or governmental interference of any kind whatever. It spreads freely over an area of three and a-half million square miles—almost equal in extent to the whole continent of Europe. Its profits are enjoyed to-day by 56,000,000 of American freemen, and from this enjoyment no monopoly is created. According to Alexander Hamilton, when he discussed the same subject in 1790, "the internal competition which takes place does away with everything like monopoly, and by degrees reduces the prices

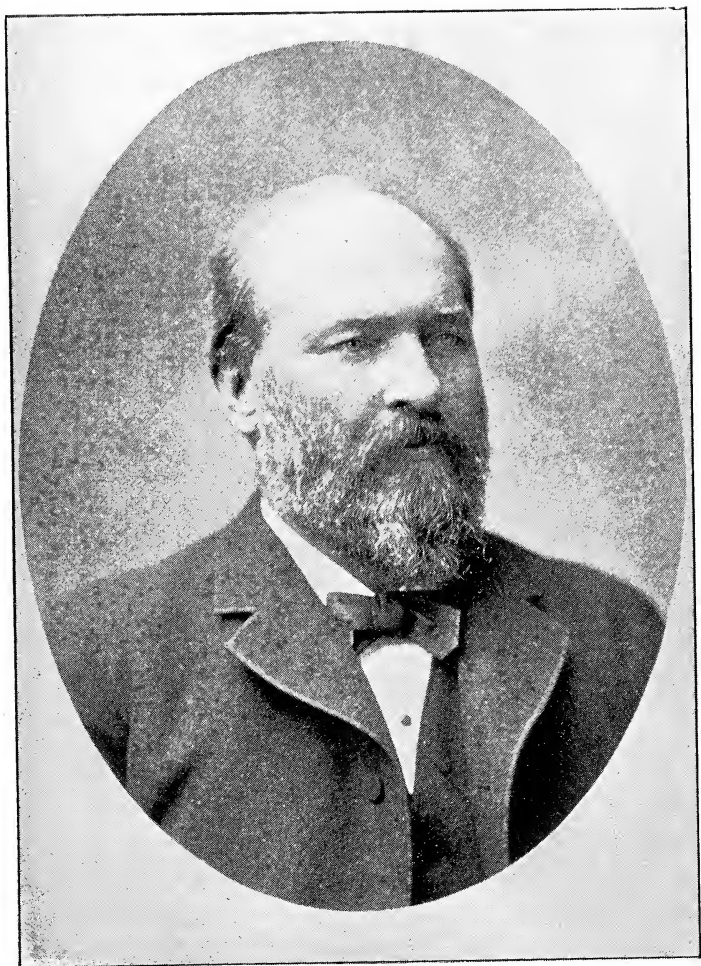
of articles to the minimum of a reasonable profit on the capital employed." It is impossible to point to a single monopoly in the United States that has been created or fostered by the industrial system which is upheld by the Republican party.

Compared with our foreign commerce these domestic exchanges are inconceivably great in amount—requiring merely as one instrumentality as large a mileage of railway as exists to-day in all the other nations of the world combined. These internal exchanges are estimated by the Statistical Bureau of the Treasury Department to be annually twenty times as great in amount as our foreign commerce. It is into this vast field of home trade—at once the creation and the heritage of the American people—that foreign nations are striving by every device to enter. It is into this field that the opponents of our present revenue system would freely admit the countries of Europe—countries into whose internal trade we could not reciprocally enter, countries to which we should be surrendering every advantage of trade; from which we should be gaining nothing in return.

A policy of this kind would be disastrous to the mechanics and workingmen of the United States. Wages are unjustly reduced when an industrious

man is not able by his earnings to live in comfort, educate his children, and lay by a sufficient amount for the necessities of age. The reduction of wages inevitably consequent upon throwing our home market open to the world would deprive them of the power to do this. It would prove a great calamity to our country. It would produce a conflict between the poor and the rich, and in the sorrowful degradaton of labor would plant the seeds of public danger.

The Republican party has steadily aimed to maintain just relations between labor and capital, guarding with care the rights of each. A conflict between the two has always led in the past and will always lead in the future to the injury of both. Labor is indispensable to the creation and profitable use of capital, and capital increases the efficiency and value of labor. Whoever arrays the one against the other is an enemy of both. That policy is wisest and best which harmonized the two on a basis of absolute justice. The Republican party has protected the free labor of America so that its compensation is larger than is realized in any other country. It has guarded our people against the unfair competition of contract labor from China, and may be called upon to prohibit the growth of a



EX-PRESIDENT GARFIELD.

similar evil from Europe. It is obviously unfair to permit capitalists to make contracts for cheap labor in foreign countries to the hurt and disparagement of the labor of American citizens. Such a policy (like that which would leave the time and other conditions of home labor exclusively in the control of the employer) is injurious to all parties—not the least so to the unhappy persons who are made the subjects of the contract. The institutions of the United States rest upon the intelligence and virtue of all the people. Suffrage is made universal as a just weapon of self-protection to every citizen. It is not the interest of the Republic that any economic system should be adopted which involves the reduction of wages to the hard standard prevailing elsewhere. The Republican party aims to elevate and dignify labor—not to degrade it.

As a substitute for the industrial system which, under Republican administration, has developed such extraordinary prosperity, our opponents offer a policy which is but a series of experiments upon our system of revenue—a policy whose end must be harm to our manufactures and greater harm to our labor. Experiment in the industrial and financial system is the country's greatest dread, as stability is its greatest boon. Even the uncertainty result-

ing from the recent tariff agitation in Congress has hurtfully affected the business of the entire country. Who can measure the harm to our shops and our homes, to our farms and our commerce, if the uncertainty of perpetual tariff agitation is to be inflicted upon the country? We are in the midst of an abundant harvest; we are on the eve of a revival of general prosperity. Nothing stands in our way but the dread of a change in the industrial system which has wrought such wonders in the last twenty years, and which, with the power of increased capital, will work still greater marvels of prosperity in the twenty years to come.

Our foreign relations favor our domestic development. We are at peace with the world—at peace upon a sound basis, with no unsettled questions of sufficient magnitude to embarrass or distract us. Happily removed by our geographical position from participation or interest in those questions of dynasty or boundary which so frequently disturb the peace of Europe, we are left to cultivate friendly relations with all, and are free from possible entanglements in the quarrels of any. The United States has no cause and no desire to engage in conflict with any Power on earth, and we may rest in assured confidence that no Power desires to attack the United States.

With the nations of the Western Hemisphere we should cultivate closer relations, and for our common prosperity and advancement we should invite them all to join with us in an agreement, that, for the future, all international troubles in North or South America shall be adjusted by impartial arbitration, and not by arms. This project was part of the fixed policy of President Garfield's administration, and it should, in my judgment, be renewed. Its accomplishment on this continent would favorably affect the nations beyond the sea, and thus powerfully contribute at no distant day to the universal acceptance of the philanthropic and Christian principle of arbitration. The effect even of suggesting it for the Spanish-American States has been most happy, and has increased the confidence of those people in our friendly disposition. It fell to my lot as Secretary of State, in June, 1881, to quiet apprehension in the Republic of Mexico by giving the assurance, in an official despatch, that "there is not the faintest desire in the United States for territorial extension south of the Rio Grande. The boundaries of the two Republics have been established in conformity with the best jurisdictional interests of both. The line of demarcation is not merely conventional. It is more. It separates a

Spanish-American people from a Saxon-American people. It divides one great nation from another with distinct and natural finality."

We seek the conquests of peace. We desire to extend our commerce, and in an especial degree with our friends and neighbors on this continent. We have not improved our relations with Spanish-America as wisely and persistently as we might have done. For more than a generation the sympathy of those countries has been allowed to drift away from us. We should now make every effort to gain their friendship. Our trade with them is already large. During the last year our exchanges in the Western Hemisphere amounted to \$350,000,000—nearly one-fourth of our entire foreign commerce. To those who may be disposed to underestimate the value of our trade with the countries of North and South America, it may be well to state that their population is nearly or quite 50,000,000, and that, in proportion to aggregate numbers, we import nearly double as much from them as we do from Europe. But the result of the whole American trade is in a high degree unsatisfactory. The imports during the past year exceeded \$225,000,000, while the exports were less than \$125,000,000—showing a balance against us of more than

\$100,000,000. But the money does not go to Spanish-America. We send large sums to Europe in coin or its equivalent to pay European manufacturers for the goods which they send to Spanish-America. We are but pay-masters for this enormous amount annually to European factors—an amount which is a serious draft, in every financial depression, upon our resources of specie.

Can not this condition of trade in great part be changed? Can not the market for our products be greatly enlarged? We have made a beginning in our effort to improve our trade relations with Mexico, and we should not be content until similar and mutually advantageous arrangements have been successfully made with every nation of North and South America. While the great powers of Europe are steadily enlarging their colonial domination in Asia and Africa, it is the especial province of this country to improve and expand its trade with the nations of America. No field promises so much. No field has been cultivated so little. Our foreign policy should be an American policy in its broadest and most comprehensive sense—a policy of peace, of friendship, of commercial enlargement.

The name of American, which belongs to us in

our national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism. Citizenship of the Republic must be the panoply and safeguard of him who wears it. The American citizen, rich or poor, native or naturalized, white or colored, must everywhere walk secure in his personal and civil rights. The Republic should never accept a lesser duty, it can never assume a nobler one, than the protection of the humblest man who owes it loyalty—protection at home, and protection which shall follow him abroad into whatever land he may go upon a lawful errand.

I recognize, not without regret, the necessity for speaking of two sections of our common country. But the regret diminishes when I see that the elements which separated them are fast disappearing. Prejudices have yielded and are yielding, while a growing cordiality warms the Southern and the Northern heart alike. Can any one doubt that between the sections confidence and esteem are to-day more marked than at any period in the sixty years preceding the election of President Lincoln? This is the result in part of time, and in part of Republican principles applied under the favorable condition of uniformity. It would be a great calamity to change these influences under which

Southern Commonwealths are learning to vindicate civil rights, and adapting themselves to the conditions of political tranquility and industrial progress. If there be occasional and violent outbreaks in the South against this peaceful progress, the public opinion of the country regards them as exceptional, and hopefully trusts that each will prove the last.

The South needs capital and occupation, not controversy. As much as any part of the North, the South needs the full protection of the revenue laws which the Republican party offers. Some of the Southern States have already entered upon a career of industrial development and prosperity. These, at least, should not lend their electoral votes to destroy their own future.

Any effort to unite the Southern States upon issues that grow out of the memories of the war, will summon the Northern States to combine in the assertion of that Nationality which was their inspiration in the civil struggle. And thus great energies which should be united in a common industrial development will be wasted in hurtful strife. The Democratic party shows itself a foe to Southern prosperity by always invoking and urging Southern political consolidation. Such a policy quenches the rising instinct of patriotism in the

heart of the Southern youth; it revives and stimulates prejudice; it substitutes the spirit of barbaric vengeance for the love of peace, progress and harmony.

The general character of the Civil Service of the United States, under all administrations, has been honorable. In the one supreme test—the collection and disbursement of revenue—the record of fidelity has never been surpassed in any Nation. With the almost fabulous sums which were received and paid during the late war, scrupulous integrity was the prevailing rule. Indeed, throughout that trying period it can be said, to the honor of the American name, that unfaithfulness and dishonesty among civil officers were as rare as misconduct and cowardice on the field of battle.

The growth of the country has continually and necessarily enlarged the Civil Service, until now it includes a vast body of officers. Rules and methods of appointment which prevailed when the number was smaller, have been found insufficient and impracticable, and earnest efforts have been made to separate the great mass of ministerial officers from partisan influence and personal control. Impartiality in the mode of appointment to be based on qualification, and security of tenure to be based

on faithful discharge of duty, are the two ends to be accomplished. The public business will be aided by separating the legislative branch of the government from all control of appointments, and the Executive Department will be relieved by subjecting appointments to fixed rules, and thus removing them from the caprice of favoritism. But there should be right observance of the law which gives, in all cases of equal competency, the preference to the soldiers who risked their lives in defence of the Union.

I entered Congress in 1863, and in a somewhat prolonged service I never found it expedient to request or recommend the removal of a civil officer, except in four instances, and then for non-political reasons which were instantly conclusive with the appointing power. The officers in the district, appointed by Mr. Lincoln in 1861 upon the recommendation of my predecessor, served, as a rule, until death or resignation. I adopted at the beginning of my service the test of competitive examination for appointments to West Point, and maintained it so long as I had the right by law to nominate a cadet. In the case of many officers I found that the present law, which arbitrarily limits the term of the commission, offered a constant

temptation to changes for mere political reasons. I have publicly expressed the belief that the essential modification of that law would be in many respects advantageous.

My observation in the Department of State confirmed the conclusion of my legislative experience, and impressed me with the conviction that the rule of impartial appointment might with advantage be carried beyond any existing provision of the civil service law. It should be applied to appointments in the consular service. Consuls should be commercial sentinels—encircling the globe with watchfulness for their country's interests. Their intelligence and competency become, therefore, matters of great public concern. No man should be appointed to an American consulate who is not well instructed in the history and resources of his own country, and in the requirements and language of commerce in the country to which he is sent. The same rule should be applied even more rigidly to secretaries of legation in our diplomatic service. The people have the right to the most efficient agents in the discharge of public business, and the appointing power should regard this as the prior and ulterior consideration.

Religious liberty is the right of every citizen of

the Republic. Congress is forbidden by the Constitution to make any law "respecting the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." For a century, under this guarantee, Protestant and Catholic, Jew and Gentile, have worshiped God according to the dictates of conscience. But religious liberty must not be perverted to the justification of offences against the law. A religious sect, strongly entrenched in one of the Territories of the Union, and spreading rapidly into four other Territories, claims the right to destroy the great safeguard and muniment of social order, and to practice as a religious privilege that which is a crime punished with severe penalty in every State of the Union. The sacredness and unity of the family must be preserved as the foundation of all civil government, as the source of orderly administration, as the surest guarantee of moral purity.

The claim of the Mormons that they are divinely authorized to practice polygamy should no more be admitted than the claim of certain heathen tribes, if they should come among us, to continue the right of human sacrifice. The law does not interfere with what a man believes; it takes cognizance only of what he does. As citizens, the Mormons

are entitled to the same civil rights as others, and to these they must be confined. Polygamy can never receive National sanction or toleration by admitting the community that upholds it as a State in the Union. Like others, the Mormons must learn that the liberty of the individual ceases where the rights of society begin.

The people of the United States, though often urged and tempted, have never seriously contemplated the recognition of any other money than gold and silver—and currency directly convertible into them. They have not done so, they will not do so, under any necessity less pressing than that of desperate war. The one special requisite for the completion of our monetary system is the fixing of the relative values of silver and gold. The large use of silver as the money of account among Asiatic nations, taken in connection with the increasing commerce of the world, gives the weightiest reasons for an international agreement in the premises. Our Government should not cease to urge this measure until a common standard of value shall be reached and established—a standard that shall enable the United States to use the silver from its mines as an auxiliary to gold in settling the balances of commercial exchange.

The strength of the Republic is increased by the multiplication of land-holders. Our laws should look to the judicious encouragement of actual settlers on the public domain, which should henceforth be held as a sacred trust for the benefit of those seeking homes. The tendency to consolidate large tracts of land in the ownership of individuals or corporations should, with proper regard to vested rights, be discouraged. One hundred thousand acres of land in the hands of one man is far less profitable to the Nation in every way than when its ownership is divided among one thousand men. The evil of permitting large tracts of the National domain to be consolidated and controlled by the few against the many, is enhanced when the persons controlling it are aliens. It is but fair that the public land should be disposed of only to actual settlers, and to those who are citizens of the Republic, or willing to become so. Among our National interests, one languishes—the foreign carrying trade. It was very seriously crippled in our Civil War, and another blow was given to it in the general substitution of steam for sail in ocean traffic. With a frontage on the two great oceans, with a freighting larger than that of any other nation, we have every in-

ducement to restore our navigation. Yet the Government has hitherto refused its help. A small share of the encouragement given by the Government to railways and to manufactures, and a small share of the capital and the zeal given by our citizens to those enterprises, would have carried our ships to every sea and to every port. A law just enacted removes some of the burdens upon our navigation, and inspires hope that this great interest may at last receive its due share of attention. All efforts in this direction should receive encouragement.

This survey of our condition as a Nation reminds us that material prosperity is but a mockery if it does not tend to preserve the liberty of the people. A free ballot is the safeguard of Republican institutions, without which no national welfare is assured. A popular election, honestly conducted, embodies the very majesty of true government. Ten millions of voters desire to take part in the pending contest. The safety of the Republic rests upon the integrity of the ballot, upon the security of suffrage to the citizens. To deposit a fraudulent vote is no worse a crime against constitutional liberty than to obstruct the deposit of an honest vote. He who corrupts suf-

frage strikes at the very root of free government. He is the arch-enemy of the Republic. He forgets that in trampling upon the rights of others he fatally imperils his own rights. "It is a good land which the Lord our God doth give us," but we can maintain our heritage only by guarding with vigilance the source of popular power. I am, with great respect, your obedient servant,

JAMES G. BLAINE.

LETTER TO A CHUM—Among the mourners at the grave of James G. Blaine was Colonel T. B. Seabright, one of the oldest and most influential Democrats in this end of the State, and college mate and life-long friend of the dead statesman.

Blaine, Seabright and J. Murray Clark, of Washington, Pa., were students and later graduated at old Washington College, boarded together and were firm friends and chums during their college days. Colonel Seabright has always been in correspondence with Blaine, and frequently visited him. His last letter from Blaine dated at Bar Harbor, Me., September 18, 1892, said:

"I cannot realize that, if we are not positively old men, at least we are elderly men, and that hundreds

of acquaintances have died by our side and we are spared. On the 18th of June I received a great nervous shock, and am just getting over the illness occasioned by it. In two years and a half I have lost my eldest three children, Walker, Emmons and Mrs. Coppinger. The world looks very different to me since they have gone. Before they went I had no grief in my life, and have had a full share of this world's goods. You don't know how odd it seems to me, even to this day, when I suddenly reflect that I have been for forty years a resident of New England, and all the scenes of my early youth and manhood are laid in Pennsylvania. I have visited them comparatively few times, since my mother died especially, and find that gradually my acquaintances and friends have dropped off or moved away, so that I feel myself almost a stranger in a strange land. I cherish the desire of riding over the old National Pike with you, but I am afraid we shall contemplate it as a scheme never to be realized."

Quotations from Official Papers.

He remained at the head of the Department less than ten months, and his effective administration was practically limited by the assassination of President Garfield to four. Within that period, however, he began several important undertakings. His foreign policy had two principal objects. The first was to secure and preserve peace throughout this continent. The second was to promote close commercial relations and increase our trade with the various countries of North and South America. The accomplishment of the first object was preliminary and essential to the attainment of the second, and, in order to promote it, he projected a peace congress to be held at Washington, to which all the independent powers of North and South America were to be invited. His plan contemplated the cultivation of such a friendly understanding on the part of the powers as would permanently avert the horrors of war either through the influence of

pacific counsels or the acceptance of impartial arbitration. Incidentally, it assumed that the assembling of their representatives at Washington would open the way to such relations as would inure to the commercial advantage of the country.

The following article written by Mr. Blaine himself after Garfield's death and his resignation from the Cabinet will probably give us a better idea of the foreign policy of the Garfield administration than we can obtain from any other source:

“AUGUSTA, MAINE, Sept. 1, 1882.

“The foreign policy of President Garfield's Administration had two principal objects in view: First, to bring about peace and prevent future wars in North and South America; second, to cultivate such friendly commercial relations with all American countries as would lead to a large increase in the export trade of the United States by supplying those fabrics in which we are abundantly able to compete with the manufacturing nations of Europe.

“To attain the second object, the first must be accomplished. It would be idle to attempt the development and enlargement of our trade with the countries of North and South America if that trade were liable at any unforeseen moment to be vio-

lently interrupted by such wars as that which for three years has engrossed and almost engulfed Chili, Peru and Bolivia; as that which was barely averted by the friendly offices of the United States between Chili and the Argentine Republic; as that which has been postponed by the same good offices, but not decisively abandoned, between Mexico and Guatemala; as that which is threatened between Brazil and Uruguay; as that which is even now foreshadowed between Brazil and the Argentine States. Peace is essential to commerce, is the very life of honest trade, is the solid basis of international prosperity; and yet, there is no part of the world where a resort to arms is so prompt as in the Spanish-American republics. Those republics have grown out of the old colonial divisions, formed from capricious grants to favorites by Royal charter, and their boundaries are in many cases not clearly defined, and consequently afford the basis of continual disputes, breaking forth too often in open war. To induce the Spanish-American States to adopt some peaceful mode of adjusting their frequently-recurring contentions was regarded by the late President as one of the most honorable and useful ends to which the diplomacy of the United States could contribute—useful especially

to those States by securing permanent peace within all their borders, and useful to our own country by affording a coveted opportunity for extending its commerce and securing enlarged fields for our products and manufactures.

“Instead of friendly intervention here and there, patching up a treaty between two countries to-day, securing a truce between two others to-morrow, it was apparent to the President that a more comprehensive plan should be adopted if war was to cease in the Western Hemisphere. It was evident that certain European powers had in the past been interested in promoting strife between the Spanish-American countries, and might be so interested in the future, while the interest of the United States was wholly and always on the side of peace with all our American neighbors, and peace between them all.

“It was, therefore, the President’s belief that mere incidental and partial adjustments failed to attain the desired end, and that a common agreement of peace, permanent in its character and continental in its extent, should, if possible, be secured. To effect this end it had been resolved, before the fatal shot of July 2d, to invite all the independent governments of North and South

America to meet in a Peace Congress at Washington. The date to be assigned was the 15th of March, 1882, and the invitations would have been issued directly after the New England tour, which the President was not permitted to make. Nearly six months later, on November 22d, President Garfield's successor issued the invitations for the Peace Congress in the same spirit and scope and with the same limitations and restrictions that had been originally designed.

“As soon as the project was understood in South America it received a most cordial approval, and some of the countries, not following the leisurely routine of diplomatic correspondence, made haste to accept the invitation. There can be no doubt that within a brief period all the nations invited would have formally signified their readiness to attend the congress; but in six weeks after the invitations had gone to the several countries, President Arthur caused them to be recalled, or at least suspended. The subject was afterward referred to Congress in a special message, in which the President ably vindicated his Constitutional right to assemble the Peace Congress, but expressed a desire that the legislative department of the Government should give an opinion upon the expediency

of the step before the congress should be allowed to convene. Meanwhile the nations that received the invitations were in an embarrassing situation; for after they were asked by the President to come, they found that the matter had been reconsidered and referred to another department of the Government. This change was universally accepted as a practical though indirect abandonment of the project, for it was not from the first probable that Congress would take any action whatever upon the subject. The good-will and welcome of the invitation would be destroyed by a long debate in the Senate and House, in which the question would necessarily become intermixed with personal and party politics, and the project would be ultimately wrecked from the same cause and by the same process that destroyed the usefulness of the Panama Congress, more than fifty years ago, when Mr. Clay was Secretary of State. The time for Congressional action would have been after the Peace Conference had closed its labors. The conference could not agree upon anything that would be binding upon the United States, unless assented to as a treaty by the Senate, or enacted into a law by both branches. The assembling of the Peace Conference, as President Arthur so well demon-

strated, was not in derogation of any right or prerogative of the Senate or House. The money necessary for the expenses of the conference—which would not have exceeded \$10,000—could not, with reason or propriety, have been refused by Congress. If it had been refused, patriotism and philanthropy would have promptly supplied it.

“The Spanish-American States are in special need of the help which the Peace Congress would afford them. They require external pressure to keep them from war. When at war they require external pressure to bring them to peace. Their outbreaks are not only frequent, but are sanguinary and sometimes cruel. The inhabitants of those countries are a brave people, belonging to a race that has always been brave, descended of men that have always been proud. They are of hot temper, quick to take affront, ready to avenge a wrong, whether real or fancied. They are at the same time generous and chivalrous, and though tending for years past to estrangement and alienation from us, they would promptly respond to any advance made by the Great Republic of the North, as they have for two generations termed our Government. The moral influence upon the Spanish-American people of such an international assembly as the Peace

Congress, called by the invitation and meeting under the auspices of the United States, would have proved beneficent and far-reaching. It would have raised the standard of their civilization. It would have turned their attention to the things of peace; and the continent, whose undeveloped wealth amazed Humboldt, might have had a new life given to it, a new and splendid career opened to its inhabitants.

“Such friendly interventions as the proposed Peace Congress, and as the attempt to restore peace between Chili and Peru, fall within the line of both duty and interest on the part of the United States. Nations, like individuals, often require the aid of a common friend to restore relations of amity. Peru and Chili are in deplorable need of a wise and powerful mediator. Though exhausted by war, they are unable to make peace, and, unless they shall be aided by the intervention of a friend, political anarchy and social disorder will come to the conquered, and evils scarcely less serious to the conqueror. Our own Government cannot take the ground that it will not offer friendly intervention to settle troubles between American countries, unless at the same time it freely concedes to European governments the

right of such intervention, and thus consents to a practical destruction of the Monroe doctrine and an unlimited increase of European and monarchical influence on this continent. The late special envoy to Péru and Chili, Mr. Trescot, gives it as his deliberate and published conclusion that if the instructions under which he set out upon his mission had not been revoked, peace between those angry belligerents would have been established as the result of his labors—necessarily to the great benefit of the United States. If our Government does not resume its efforts to secure peace in South America, some European government will be forced to perform that friendly office. The United States cannot play between nations the part of the dog in the manger. We must perform the duty of human intervention ourselves, or give way to foreign governments that are willing to accept the responsibility of the great trust and secure the enhanced influence and numberless advantages resulting from such a philanthropic and beneficent course.

“A most significant and important result would have followed the assembling of the Peace Congress. A friendship and an intimacy would have been established between the States of North and

South America, which would have demanded and enforced a closer commercial connection. A movement in the near future, as the legitimate outgrowth of assured peace, would, in all probability, have been a great commercial conference at the city of Mexico or Rio Janeiro, whose deliberations would be directed to a better system of trade on the two continents. To such a conference the Dominion of Canada could properly be asked to send representatives, as that government is allowed by Great Britain a very large liberty in regulating its commercial relations. In the Peace Congress, to be composed of independent governments, the Dominion could not have taken any part, and was consequently not invited. From this trade conference of the two continents, the United States could hardly have failed to gain great advantages. At present the commercial relations of this country with the Spanish-American countries, both continental and insular, are unsatisfactory and unprofitable—indeed, those relations are absolutely oppressive to the financial interests of the Government and people of the United States. In our current exchanges, it requires about \$120,000,000 to pay the balance which Spanish America brings against us every year. This amount is fifty per cent. more than the

average annual product of the gold and silver mines of the United States during the past five years. This vast sum does not of course go to Spanish America in coin, but it goes across the ocean in coin or its equivalent to pay European countries for manufactured articles which they furnish to Spanish America—a large proportion of which should be furnished by the manufacturers of the United States.

“At this point of the argument the free trader appears and declares that our protective tariff destroys our power of competition with European countries, and that if we will abolish protection we shall soon have South American trade. The answer is not sufficient, for to-day there are many articles which we can send to South America and sell as cheaply as European manufacturers can furnish them. It is idle, of course, to make this statement to the genuine apostle of free trade and the implacable enemy of protection, for the great postulate of his argument, the foundation of his creed, is that nothing can be made as cheaply in America as in Europe. Nevertheless, facts are stubborn and the hard figures of arithmetic cannot be satisfactorily answered by airy figures of speech. The truth remains that the coarser de-

scriptions of cottons and cotton prints, boots and shoes, ordinary household furniture, harness for draft animals, agricultural implements of all kinds, doors, sashes and blinds, locks, bolts and hinges, silver-ware, plated-ware, wooden-ware, ordinary paper and paper-hangings, common vehicles, ordinary window-glass and glassware, rubber goods, coal oils, lard oils, kerosene, white lead, lead pipe, and articles in which lead is a chief component, can be and are produced as cheaply in the United States as in any other part of the world. The list of such articles might be lengthened by the addition of those classed as "notions," but enough only are given to show that this country would, with proper commercial arrangements, export much more largely than it now does to Spanish America.

"In the trade relations of the world it does not follow that mere ability to produce as cheaply as another nation insures a division of an established market, or, indeed, any participation in it. France manufactures as many articles as cheaply as England—some articles at even less cost. Portugal lies nearer to France than to England, and the expense of transporting the French fabric to the Portuguese market is therefore less than the transportation of English fabric. And yet Great Britain

has almost a monopoly in the trade of Portugal. The same condition applies, though in a less degree, in the trade of Turkey, Syria and Egypt, which England holds to a much greater extent than any of the other European nations that are able to produce the same fabric as cheaply. If it be said in answer that England has special trade relations by treaty with Portugal and special obligations binding the other countries, the ready answer is that she has no more favorable position with regard to those countries than can be readily and easily acquired by the United States with respect to all the countries of America. That end will be reached whenever the United States desires it, and wills it, and is ready to take the steps necessary to secure it. At present the trade with Spanish America runs so strongly in channels adverse to us that, besides our inability to furnish manufactured articles, we do not get the profits on our own raw products that are shipped there. Our petroleum reaches most of the Spanish-American ports after twice crossing the Atlantic, paying often a better profit to the European middle-man, who handles it, than it does to the producer of the oil in the north-western counties of Pennsylvania. Flour and pork from the West reach Cuba by way of Spain, and,

though we buy and consume ninety per cent. of the total products of Cuba, almost that proportion of her purchases are made in Europe—made, of course, with money furnished directly from our pockets.

“As our exports to Spanish-America grow less, as European imports constantly grow larger, the balance against us will show an annual increase, and will continue to exhaust our supply of the precious metals. We are increasing our imports from South America, and the millions we annually pay for coffee, wool, hides, guano, cinchona, caoutchouc, cabinet woods, dye woods and other articles, go for the ultimate benefit of European manufacturers who take the gold from us and send their fabrics to Spanish-America. If we could send our fabrics, our gold would stay at home and our general prosperity would be sensibly increased. But so long as we repel Spanish-America, so long as we leave her to cultivate intimate relations with Europe alone, so long our trade relations will remain unsatisfactory and even embarrassing. Those countries sell to us very heavily. They buy from us very lightly. And the amount they bring us in debt each year is larger than the heaviest aggregate balance of trade we ever have



GEN. WM. T. SHERMAN.

against us in the worst of times. The average balance against us for the whole world in the five most adverse years we ever experienced, was about one hundred millions of dollars. This plainly shows that in our European exchanges there is always a balance in our favor and that our chief deficiency arises from our mal-adjusted commercial relations with Spanish-America. It follows that if our Spanish-American trade were placed on a better and more equitable foundation, it would be almost impossible even in years most unfavorable to us, to bring us in debt to the world.

“With such heavy purchases as we are compelled to make from Spanish-America, it could hardly be expected that we should be able to adjust the entire account by exports. But the balance against us of one hundred and twenty millions in gold coin is far too large, and in time of stringency is a standing menace of final disaster. It should not be forgotten that every million dollars of products or fabrics that we sell in Spanish-America is a million dollars in gold saved to our own country. The immediate profit is to the producer and exporter, but the entire country realizes a gain in the ease and affluence of the money market, which is insured by keeping our gold at home.

The question involved is so large, the object to be achieved is so great that no effort on the part of the Government to accomplish it could be too earnest or too long continued.

“It is only claimed for the Peace Congress, designed under the administration of Garfield, that it was an important and impressive step on the part of the United States toward closer relationship with our continental neighbors. The present tendency in those countries is toward Europe, and it is a lamentable fact that their people are not so near to us in feeling as they were sixty years ago when they threw off the yoke of Spanish tyranny. We were then a weak Republic of but ten millions, but we did not hesitate to recognize the independence of the new governments, even at the risk of war with Spain. Our foreign policy at that time was specially designed to extend our influence in the Western Hemisphere, and the statesmen of that era—the era of DeWitt Clinton and the younger Adams, of Clay and of Crawford, of Webster and Calhoun, of Van Buren and Benton, of Jackson and of Edward Livingston—were always courageous in the inspiring measures which they advocated for the expansion of our commercial dominion.

“Three score years have passed. The power of the Republic in many directions has grown beyond all anticipation, but we have relatively lost ground in some great fields of enterprise. We have added thousands of miles to our ocean front, but our commerce has fallen off, and from ardent friendship with Spanish America we have drifted into indifference if not into coldness. It is but one step further to reach a condition of positive unfriendliness, which may end in what would be equivalent to a commercial alliance against us. Already one of the most dangerous of movements—that of a European guarantee and guardianship of the Interoceanic Canal—is suggested and urged upon the Great Foreign Powers by representatives of a South American country. If these tendencies are to be averted, if Spanish-American friendship is to be regained, if the commercial empire that legitimately belongs to us is to be ours, we must not lie idle and witness its transfer to others. If we would reconquer it, a great first step is to be taken. It is the first step that costs. It is also the first step that counts. Can there be suggested a wiser step than the Peace Congress of the two Americas, that was devised under Garfield, and had the weight of his great name?

“In no event could harm have resulted in the assembling of the Peace Congress; failure was next to impossible. Success might be regarded as certain. The subject to be discussed was peace, and how it can be permanently preserved in North and South America. The labors of the Congress would have probably ended in a well-digested system of arbitration, under which all troubles between American States could be quickly, effectually and satisfactorily adjusted. Such a consummation would have been worth a great struggle and a great sacrifice. It could have been reached without any struggle and would have involved no sacrifice. It was within our grasp. It was ours for the asking. It would have been a signal victory of philanthropy over the selfishness of human ambition; a complete triumph of Christian principles as applied to the affairs of Nations. It would have reflected enduring honor on our new country, and would have imparted a new spirit and a new brotherhood to all America. Nor would its influence beyond the sea have been small. The example of seventeen independent Nations solemnly agreeing to abolish the arbitrament of the sword, and to settle every dispute by peaceful methods of adjudication, would have exerted an

influence to the utmost confines of civilization, and upon the generations of men yet to come.

“JAMES G. BLAINE.”

The project though already determined, was delayed by the fatal shot at Garfield, and the letter of invitation was finally issued with the consent of President Arthur, on November 29, 1881, fixing November 24, 1882, as the date of the proposed Congress. The letter read thus:

PROPOSED PEACE CONGRESS OF
AMERICAN STATES.

“DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
“WASHINGTON, November 29, 1881.

“SIR—The attitude of the United States with respect to the question of general peace on the American continent is well known through its persistent efforts for years past to avert the evils of warfare, or, these efforts failing, to bring positive conflicts to an end through pacific counsels or the advocacy of impartial arbitration.

“This attitude has been consistently maintained, and always with such fairness as to leave no room for imputing to our Government any motive except

the humane and disinterested one of saving the kindred States of America from the burdens of war. The position of the United States as the leading Power of the New World might well give to its Government a claim to authoritative utterance for the purpose of quieting discord among its neighbors, with all of whom the most friendly relations exist. Nevertheless, the good offices of this Government are not and have not at any time been tendered with a show of dictation or compulsion, but only as exhibiting the solicitous good will of a common friend.

“For some years past a growing disposition has been manifested by certain States of Central and South American to refer disputes affecting grave questions of international relationship and boundaries to arbitration rather than to the sword. It has been on several such occasions a source of profound satisfaction to the Government of the United States to see that this country is in a large measure looked to by all the American Powers as their friend and mediator. The just and impartial counsel of the President in such cases has never been withheld, and his efforts have been rewarded by the prevention of sanguinary strife or angry contentions between peoples whom we regard as brethren.

“The existence of this growing tendency convinces the President that the time is ripe for a proposal that shall enlist the good will and active co-operation of all the States of the Western Hemisphere, both north and south, in the interest of humanity and for the common weal of nations. He conceives that none of the Governments of America can be less alive than our own to the dangers and horrors of a state of war, and especially of war between kinsmen. He is sure that none of the Chiefs of Governments on the continent can be less sensitive than he is to the sacred duty of making every endeavor to do away with the chances of fratricidal strife. He looks with hopeful confidence to such active assistance from them as will serve to show the broadness of our common humanity and the strength of the ties which binds us all together as a harmonious system of American commonwealths.

“Impressed with these views, the President extends to all the independent countries of North and South America an earnest invitation to participate in a General Congress to be held in the city of Washington on the twenty-fourth day of November, 1882, for the purpose of considering and discussing the methods of preventing war between

the nations of America. He desires that the attention of the Congress shall be strictly confined to this one great object; that its sole aim shall be to seek a way of permanently averting the horrors of cruel and bloody combat between countries, oftenest of one blood and speech, or the even worse calamity of internal commotion and civil strife; that it shall regard the burdensome and far-reaching consequences of such struggles; exhausted finances, oppressive debt, onerous taxation, ruined cities, paralyzed industries, devastated fields, ruthless conscription, the slaughter of men, the grief of the widow and the orphan;—with a legacy of embittered resentments, that long survive those who provoked them and heavily afflict the innocent generations that come after.

“The President is especially desirous to have it understood that, in putting forth this invitation, the United States does not assume the position of counseling, or attempting to counsel, through the voice of the Congress, any determinate solution of existing questions which may now divide any of the countries of America. Such questions cannot properly come before the Congress. Its mission is higher. It is to provide for the interests of all in the future, not to settle the individual differences of the present.

For this reason especially the President has indicated a day for the assembling of the Congress so far in the future as to leave good ground for hope that by the time named the present situation on the South Pacific coast will be happily terminated, and that those engaged in the contest may take peaceable part in the discussion and solution of the general question affecting in an equal degree the well-being of all.

“It seems also desirable to disclaim in advance any purpose on the part of the United States to prejudge the issues to be presented to the Congress. It is far from the intent of this Government to appear before the Congress as in any sense the protector of its neighbors or the predestined and necessary arbitrator of their disputes. The United States will enter into the deliberations of the Congress on the same footing as the other powers represented, and with the loyal determination to approach any proposed solution, not merely in its own interest, or with a view to asserting its own power, but as a single member among many co-ordinate and co-equal States. So far as the influence of this Government may be potential, it will be exerted in the direction of conciliating whatever conflicting interests of blood, or government, or historical tradition

may necessarily come together in response to a call embracing elements so vast and diverse.

“You will present these views to the Minister of Foreign Relations of the Argentine Republic, enlarging, if need be, in such terms as will readily occur to you, upon the great mission which it is within the power of the proposed Congress to accomplish in the interest of humanity, and upon the firm purpose of the United States to maintain a position of the most absolute and impartial friendship towards all. You will thereupon, in the name of the President of the United States, tender to His Excellency the President of the Argentine Republic a formal invitation to send two commissioners to the Congress, provided with such powers and instructions on behalf of their Government as will enable them to consider the questions brought before that body within the limit of submission contemplated by this invitation. The United States, as well as the other powers, will, in like manner, be represented by two commissioners, so that equality and impartiality will be amply secured in the proceedings of the Congress.

“In delivering this invitation through the Minister of Foreign Affairs, you will read this dispatch to him and leave with him a copy, intimating that

an answer is desired by this Government as promptly as the just consideration of so important a proposition will permit.

“I am, sir, your obedient servant,

“JAMES G. BLAINE.”

On December 19 Mr. Blaine retired from the Cabinet, and within three weeks his successor had reserved his policy and the plan was abandoned, after the invitation had been accepted by all the American powers except two. This condemnation of his policy was a great disappointment to Mr. Blaine and led him to vindicate his course by addressing to President Arthur on February 3, 1882, the following letter:

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES—
The suggestion that a Congress of all American nations should assemble in the city of Washington for the purpose of agreeing on such a basis of arbitration for International troubles as would remove all possibility of war in the Western Hemisphere, was warmly approved by your predecessor. His assassination on the 2d of last July necessarily suspended all action on the part of the Government. After your accession to the Presidency I acquainted

you with the project, and submitted to you a draft for the invitation. You received the suggestion with appreciative consideration, and, after carefully examining the form of invitation, directed it to be sent. It was accordingly dispatched in November to the independent Governments of America, North and South, including all, from the Empire of Brazil to the smallest republic. In a communication, recently sent to the Senate, addressed by the present Secretary of State the 9th of last month to Mr. Trescott, now on a special mission to Peru and Chili, I was greatly surprised to find a proposition looking to the annulment of these invitations, and I was still more surprised when I read the reasons assigned. I quote Mr. Frelinghuysen's language:

"The United States is at peace with all nations of the earth, and the President wishes hereafter to determine whether it will conduce to the general peace, which he would cherish and promote, for this Government to enter into negotiations and consultation for the promotion of peace with selected friendly nationalities without extending the line of confidence to other people with whom the United States is on equally friendly terms. If such partial confidence would create jealousy and ill will, peace, the object sought by such consultation, would not be promoted. The principles controlling the relations of the republics of this hemisphere with other nationalities may, on investigation, be found to be so well established that little would be gained at this time by re-opening the subject, which is not novel."

If I correctly apprehend the meaning of these

words, it is that we might offend some European powers if we should hold in the United States a congress of "selected nationalities" of America. This is certainly a new position for the United States, and one which I earnestly beg you will not permit this Government to assume. European powers assemble in congress whenever an object seems to them of sufficient gravity to justify it. I have never heard of their consulting the Government of the United States in regard to the propriety of their so assembling, nor have I ever known of their inviting an American representative to be present, nor would there, in my opinion, be any good reason for their so doing. Two Presidents of the United States in the year 1881 adjudged it to be expedient that American powers should meet in congress for the sole purpose of agreeing upon some basis for arbitration of differences that may arise between them, and for the prevention, as far as possible, of wars in the future. If that movement is now to be arrested for fear it may give offense in Europe, the voluntary humiliation of the United States could not be more complete, unless we should petition European governments for the privilege of holding the Congress.

It is difficult to see how this country could be placed

in a less enviable position than would be secured by sending in November a cordial invitation to all the Independent Nations in America to meet in Washington for the sole purpose of devising measures of peace, and in January recalling the invitation for fear it might create "jealousy and ill will" on the part of monarchical governments in Europe. It would be difficult to devise a more effective way for the United States to lose the friendship of its American neighbors, and it would certainly not add to our *prestige* in the European world. Nor can I see, Mr. President, how European Governments should feel "jealousy and ill will" toward the United States because of an effort on its part to assure lasting peace between the nations of America, unless indeed it be the interest of the European powers that the American nations should at intervals fall into war, and bring reproach on Republican institutions. But from that very circumstance I see an additional and powerful motive for American Governments to be at peace among themselves. The United States is indeed at peace with all the world, as Mr. Frelinghuysen well says; but there are, and have been, serious troubles between other American republics. Peru, Chili and Bolivia have been for more than two years engaged in a desperate con-

flict. It was the fortunate intervention of the United States last spring that averted war between Chili and the Argentine Republic. Guatemala is at this moment asking the United States to interpose its good offices with Mexico to keep off war.

These important facts were all communicated in your late message to Congress. It was the existence or menace of these wars that influenced President Garfield, and, as I supposed, influenced yourself, to desire a friendly conference of all the nations of America to devise methods of permanent peace and consequent prosperity for all. Shall the United States now turn back, hold aloof, and refuse to exert its great moral power for the advantage of its weaker neighbors? If you have not formally recalled the invitation to a Peace Congress, Mr. President, I beg you to consider well the effect of so doing. The invitation was not mine. It was yours. I performed only the part of Secretary of State to advise, and to draft. You spoke in the name of the United States to each of the independent nations of America. To revoke that invitation for any cause would be embarrassing; to revoke it for avowed fear of "jealousy and ill will" on the part of European powers would appeal as little to American pride as to American hospitality. Those

you have invited may decline, and, having now cause to doubt their welcome, will perhaps do so. This would break up the Congress, but it would not touch our dignity.

Beyond the philanthropic and Christian ends to be obtained by the American conference, devoted to peace and good will among men, we might well hope for material advantages as a result of a better understanding and closer friendship with the nations of America. At present the condition of trade between the United States and its American neighbors is unsatisfactory to us, and even deplorable. According to the official statistics of our own Treasury Department the balance against us in American trade last year was \$120,000,000 in coin—a sum greater than the yearly product of the gold and silver mines in the United States. This large balance was paid by us in foreign exchange, and a very large proportion of it went to England, where shipments of cotton, provisions and breadstuffs supplied the money. If anything should change or check the balance in our favor in European trade, our commercial exchanges with Spanish-America would drain us of our reserve of gold coin at a rate exceeding \$100,000,000 per annum, and might precipitate the suspension of

specie payment in this country. Such a result at home would be worse than a little "jealousy and ill will" abroad.

I do not say, Mr. President, that the holding of a Peace Congress will necessarily change the currents of trade, but it will bring us into kindly relations with all the American nations; it will promote the reign of law and order; it will increase production and consumption; it will stimulate the demand for articles which American manufacturers can furnish with profit. It will, at all events, be a friendly and auspicious beginning in the direction of American influence and American trade in a large field which we have hitherto neglected, and which has been practically monopolized by our commercial rivals in Europe.

As Mr. Frelinghuysen's dispatch foreshadowing an abandonment of a Peace Congress has been made public by your direction, I deem it a matter of propriety and justice to give this letter to the press.

I am, Mr. President, with great respect, your ever obedient servant,

JAMES G. BLAINE.

When Mr. Blaine entered the Department of State, war was raging between Chili and Peru and he sought to exercise the good offices of our government, first, for the restoration of peace, and second to mitigate the consequences of the crushing defeat sustained by Peru. The war which he more than suspected had been stirred up by designing influences emanating from Europe, had taken more and more the form of a struggle for commercial supremacy, in which Chili, backed by English, and possibly by German secret aid, had completely overthrown Peru, and by keeping that country in anarchy, was preparing to rob her of all her sources of wealth and leave almost an ungoverned desert. Equally friendly to both republics, the United States could but view this deplorable condition of affairs with the greatest concern. While Peru was in danger of relapsing almost into barbarism, Chili was ambitiously seizing more territory than her slender resources could really assimilate, all progress on the Pacific coast of South America was likely to be retarded, the interests of the United States were ignored, and no claims and no class was gaining but selfish traders and speculators from the Old World. At the same time the regard which the Colossus of the North

was bound to show toward the independence and free action of the weaker republics made the task of negotiation or interference a very delicate one.

Other efforts failing, he dispatched William Henry Trescott on a special mission to offer friendly services of the United States, but this attempt like the one for the Peace Congress was interrupted and frustrated by his retirement from the Department.

His brief service was also signaled by an important correspondence with the British Governor concerning the modification of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. The Columbian Republic had proposed to the European powers that they should unite in guaranteeing the new treaty of the Panama canal. On the 24th he issued a circular-letter to our representatives abroad, setting forth the settled objection of this Government to any concerted action of the European powers, for the purpose of guaranteeing the neutrality of such a canal, or determining the condition of its use, and furthermore calling attention to the paramount right and duty in this particular imposed on the United States by its treaty with the former Republic of New Granada—now Columbia—signed in 1864.

CLAYTON-BULWER TREATY AND INTER-OCEANIC CANAL.

[The following dispatch from Mr. Blaine, Secretary of State, to James Russell Lowell, Minister at London, was also sent *mutatis mutandis* to other ministers of the United States in Europe.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

WASHINGTON, June 24, 1881.

SIR—It has come under the observation of the President, through the current statements of the European press and other usual modes of communication, that the great powers of Europe may be considering the subject of jointly guaranteeing the neutrality of the interoceanic canal now projected across the Isthmus of Panama.

The United States recognizes a proper guarantee of neutrality as essential to the construction and successful operation of any highway across the Isthmus of Panama, and in the last generation every step deemed requisite in the premises was taken by this Government. The necessity was foreseen and abundantly provided for, long in advance of any possible call for the actual exercise of power.

In 1846 a memorable and important treaty was negotiated and signed between the United States of

America and the Republic of New Granada, now the United States of Colombia. By the thirty-fifth article of that treaty, the United States in exchange for certain concessions, guaranteed "positively and efficaciously" the perfect neutrality of the Isthmus and of any interoceanic communications that might be constructed upon or over it for the maintenance of free transit from sea to sea; and also guaranteed the rights of sovereignty and property of the United States of Colombia over the territory of the Isthmus as included within the borders of the State of Panama.

In the judgment of the President this guarantee, given by the United States of America, does not require re-enforcement, or accession, or assent from any other Power. In more than one instance this Government has been called upon to vindicate the neutrality thus guaranteed, and no contingency is now foreseen or apprehended in which such vindication would not be within the power of this Nation.

There has never been the slightest doubt on the part of this Government as to the purpose or extent of the obligation then assumed, by which the United States became surety alike for the free transit of the world's commerce over whatever

landway or waterway might be opened from sea to sea, and for the protection of the territorial rights of Colombia from aggression or interference of any kind. Nor has there ever been room to question the full extent of the advantages and benefits, naturally due to its geographical position and political relations on the Western Continent, which the United States obtained from the owner of the Isthmian territory in exchange for that far-reaching and responsible guarantee.

If the foreshadowed action of the European powers should assume tangible shape, it would be well for you to bring to the notice of Lord Granville the provisions of the treaty of 1846, and especially of its thirty-fifth article, and to intimate to him that any movement, with the view of supplementing the guarantee contained therein, would necessarily be regarded by this Government as an uncalled-for intrusion into a field where the local and general interests of the United States of America must be considered before the interests of any other Power save those of the United States of Colombia alone. That republic has already derived and will continue to derive eminent advantages from the guarantee of this Government.

The President deems it due to frankness to be

still more explicit on this subject, and to elucidate the views of the United States Government with somewhat of detail to the end that no uncertainty shall subsist as to the integrity of our motives or the distinctness of our aims.

It is not the wish or the purpose of the United States to interfere with any commercial enterprise in which the citizens or subjects of any foreign power may see fit to embark, under a lawful privilege. The fact that the stock and franchise of the Panama Canal or the Panama Railway are owned in Europe either in whole or principally, is no more a subject of complaint on the part of the United States than is the circumstance that the stock of many of its own lines of railway is largely held abroad. Such ownership, with its attendant rights, is in the United States amply secured by the laws of the land, and on the Isthmus is doubly secured by the local laws of Colombia, under the guarantee of the United States.

In time of peace, the United States does not seek exclusive privileges for American ships in respect to precedence or tolls through an interoceanic canal any more than it has sought like privileges for American goods in transit over the Panama Railway, under the control of an American corpo-

ration. The extent of the privileges of American citizens and American ships is measurable under the treaty of 1846 by those of Colombian citizens and ships. It would be our earnest desire and expectation to see the world's peaceful commerce enjoy the same just, liberal, and rational treatment.

It is the political control of such a canal, as distinguished from its merely administrative or commercial regulation, of which the President feels called upon to speak with directness and with emphasis. During any war to which the United States of America or the United States of Colombia might be a party, the passage of any armed vessels of a hostile nation through the canal at Panama would be no more admissible than would the passage of the armed forces of a hostile nation over the railway lines joining the Atlantic and Pacific shores of the United States or of Colombia. The United States of America will insist upon her right to take all needful precautions against a possibility that the Isthmus transit shall be in any event used offensively against her interests upon the land or upon the sea.

The two Republics between which the guarantee of neutrality and possession exist present analogous conditions with respect to their territorial exten-

sion. Each has a long line of coast on both oceans to protect as well as to improve. The possessions of the United States upon the Pacific coast are imperial in extent and of extraordinary growth. Even at their present stage of development they would supply the larger part of the traffic which would seek the advantages of the canal. The States of California and Oregon, and the Territory of Washington, larger in area than England and France, produce for export more than a ton of wheat for each inhabitant, and the entire freights demanding water transportation eastward, already enormous, are augmenting each year with an accelerating ratio. While the population and products of the Pacific slope are thus increasing upon a vast scale, the railway system connecting the Gulf of Mexico with the interior and with the Great Lakes is rapidly extending, thus affording additional facilities for enlarging the commerce that must seek the coast-line to the Pacific, of which the projected canal at Panama will form a part, and be as truly a channel of communication between the Eastern and far Western States as our own transcontinental railways. It is the perception of this domestic function of the long-sought water-way between the two seas that border the Republic, which has

caused the project to be regarded as of vital importance by this Government. The history of the enterprise is marked from the outset by the numerous expeditions which have, from time to time, been sent out by the United States at large expense to explore the various routes, and thus facilitate the work when the time should be ripe and the capital provided for the undertaking.

If the proposed canal were a channel of communication near to the countries of the Old World, and employed wholly, or almost wholly, by their commerce, it might very properly be urged that the influence of the European powers should be commensurate with their interests. With the exercise of such influence, the United States could find no fault, especially if assured of equal participation in the peaceable enjoyment of the commercial facilities so afforded. The case, however, is here reversed, and an agreement between the European States jointly to guarantee the neutrality and in effect control the political character of a highway of commerce, remote from them and near to us, forming substantially a part of our commercial coast-line and promising to become the chief means of transportation between our Atlantic and Pacific States, would be viewed by this Government with the gravest concern.

The policy of the United States is one of peace and friendly intercourse with every government and people. This disposition is not only avowed, but is abundantly shown in the fact that our armaments by land and sea are kept within such limits as to afford no ground for distrust or suspicion of menace to other nations. The guarantee entered into by this Government in 1846 was manifestly in the interest of peace, and the necessity imposed by circumstances upon the United States of America to watch over a highway between its two coasts was so imperative that the resultant guarantee was the simplest justice to the chief interests concerned. Any attempt to supersede that guarantee by an agreement between European powers, which maintain strong armies and patrol the sea with large fleets, and whose interest in the canal and its operation can never be so vital and supreme as ours, would partake of the nature of an alliance against the United States, and would be regarded by this Government as an indication of unfriendly feeling. It would be but an inadequate response to the good will we bear them and to our cheerful and constant recognition of their own rights of domestic policy, as well as those resulting from proximity or springing from neighborly interest.

The European powers have repeatedly united in guarantees of neutrality touching the political condition of such States as Luxembourg, Belgium, Switzerland and parts of the Orient, where the localities were adjacent or where the interests involved concerned them nearly and deeply. Recognizing these facts, the Government of the United States has never offered to take part in such agreements or to make any agreements supplementary to them.

While thus observing the strictest neutrality with respect to complications abroad, it is the long-settled conviction of this Government that any extension to our shores of the political system by which the great powers have controlled and determined events in Europe would be attended with danger to the peace and welfare of this nation.

While the Government of the United States has no intention of initiating any discussion upon this subject, it is proper that you should be prepared in case of concerted action or conference or exchange of opinions thereon between the great powers of Europe, to communicate to the government to which you are accredited the views of the President as frankly and as fully as they are herein set forth. At suitable times in your personal and friendly

intercourse with your colleagues of the diplomatic body at London, you may find it proper to give discreet expression to the policy and motives of your Government in the premises.

You will be careful, in any conversations you may have, not to represent the position of the United States as the development of a new policy or the beginning of any aggressive measures. It is nothing more than the pronounced adherence of the United States to principles long since enunciated by the highest authority of the Government, and now, in the judgment of the President, firmly inwoven as an integral and important part of our national policy.

In his address upon taking the oath of office the President distinctly proclaimed the position which the Government of the United States would hold upon this question, and if the European cabinets have failed to observe or give due heed to the declarations then made, it may be well for you on some proper occasion to call the attention of the minister of foreign affairs to the language used by the President.

The tragedy of the 2d of July postponed further action, but on the 19th of November Mr. Blaine

addressed to Mr. Lowell a letter which awakened wide attention, instructing him to apply to the British Government for its consent to the mutual abrogation of certain clauses in the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of April 19, 1850, which had become harmful and inappropriate in the time since elapsed.

[Second dispatch on the subject of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty from Mr. Blaine, Secretary of State, to Mr. James Russell Lowell, Minister at London.]

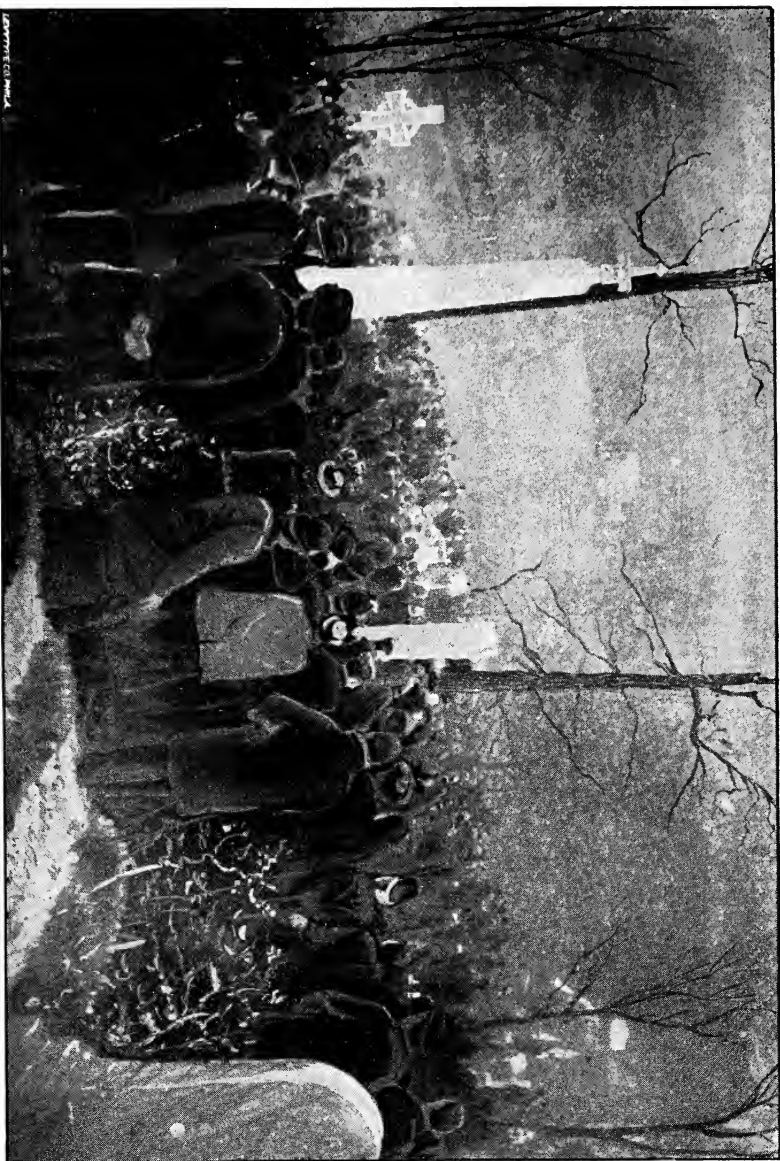
DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

WASHINGTON, Nov. 19, 1881.

SIR—In pursuance of the premises laid down in my circular note of June 24 of this year, touching the determination of this Government with respect to the guarantee of neutrality for the interoceanic canal at Panama, it becomes my duty to call your attention to the convention of April 19, 1850, between Great Britain and the United States, commonly known as the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty.

According to the articles of that convention, the high contracting parties, in referring to an interoceanic canal through Nicaragua, agreed:

"That neither the one nor the other will ever obtain or maintain for itself any exclusive control over said ship canal, and that neither will ever erect or maintain any fortifications commanding the same or in the vicinity thereof."



FUNERAL SCENE, MR. BLAINE'S BURIAL.



In a concluding paragraph the high contracting parties agreed:

"To extend their protection by treaty stipulations to any other practicable communications, whether by canal or railway across the Isthmus, * * which are now proposed to be established by way of Tehuantepec or Panama."

This convention was made more than thirty years ago, under exceptional conditions which have long since ceased to exist—conditions which at best were temporary in their nature and which can never be reproduced. The remarkable development of the United States on the Pacific coast since that time has created new duties for this Government, and developed new responsibilities upon it, the full and complete discharge of which requires, in the judgment of the President, some essential modifications in the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. The interests of Her Majesty's Government involved in this question, in so far as they may be properly judged by the observation of a friendly power, are so inconsiderable in comparison with those of the United States that the President hopes a re-adjustment of the terms of the treaty may be reached in a spirit of amity and concord.

The respect due to Her Majesty's Government demands that the objections to the perpetuity of the

convention of 1850, as it now exists, should be stated with directness and with entire frankness. Among the most salient of these objections is the fact that the operation of the treaty practically concedes to Great Britain the control of whatever canal may be constructed. The insular position of the home government, with its extended colonial possessions, requires the British Empire to maintain a vast naval establishment. In our continental solidity we do not need, and in time of peace shall never create a rival to it. If therefore the United States binds itself not to fortify on land, it concedes that Great Britain, in the possible case of a struggle for the control of the canal, shall at the outset have an advantage which would prove decisive, and which could not be reversed, except by an enormous expenditure of treasure and force. The presumptive intention of the treaty was to place the two powers on a plane of perfect equality with respect to the canal; but in practice, as I have indicated, this would prove utterly delusive, and would instead surrender it, if not in form, yet in effect, to the control of Great Britain.

The treaty binds the United States not to use military force in any precautionary measure, while it leaves the naval power of Great Britain perfectly

free and unrestrained—ready at any moment of need to seize both ends of the canal and render its military occupation on land a matter entirely within the discretion of Her Majesty's Government. The military power of the United States, as shown by the recent civil war, is without limit, and in any conflict on the American continent altogether irresistible. The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty commands this Government not to use a single regiment of troops to protect its interests in connection with the interoceanic canal, but to surrender the transit to the guardianship and control of the British Navy. If no American soldier is to be quartered on the Isthmus to protect the rights of his country in the interoceanic canal, surely, by the fair logic of neutrality, no war-vessel of Great Britain should be permitted to appear in the waters that control either entrance to the canal.

A more comprehensive objection to the treaty is urged by this Government. Its provisions embody a misconception of the relative positions of Great Britain and the United States with respect to the interest of each in questions pertaining to this continent. The Government of the United States has no occasion to disavow an aggressive disposition. Its entire policy establishes its pacific char-

acter, and among its chief aims is to cultivate the most friendly and intimate relations with its neighbors, both independent and colonial. At the same time, this Government, with respect to European States, will not consent to perpetuate any treaty that impeaches our rightful and long-established claim to priority on the American continent.

The United States seeks only to use for the defense of its own interests the same forecast and provision which Her Majesty's Government energetically employs in defense of the interests of the British Empire. To guard her Eastern possessions, to secure the most rapid transit for troops and munitions of war, and to prevent any other nation from having equal facilities in the same direction, Great Britain holds and fortifies all the strategic points that control the route to India. At Gibraltar, at Malta, at Cyprus, her fortifications give her the mastery of the Mediterranean. She holds a controlling interest in the Suez Canal, and by her fortifications at Aden and on the Island of Perim she excludes all other powers from the waters of the Red Sea, and practically renders it *mare clausum*. It would, in the judgment of the President, be no more unreasonable for the United States to demand a share in these fortifications, or

to demand their absolute neutralization, than for England to make the same demand in perpetuity from the United States with respect to the transit across the American continent. The possessions which Great Britain thus carefully guards in the East are not of more importance to her than is the Pacific slope, with its present development and assured growth, to the Government of the United States.

The States and Territories appurtenant to the Pacific Ocean and dependent upon it for commercial outlet, and hence directly interested in the canal, comprise an area of nearly eight hundred thousand square miles—larger in extent than the German Empire and the four Latin countries of Europe combined. This vast region is but beginning its prosperous development. Six thousand miles of railway are already constructed within its limits, and it is a moderate calculation to say that within the current decade the number of miles will, at least, be doubled. In the near future the money value of its surplus for export will be as large as that of British India, and perhaps larger. Nor must it be forgotten that India is but a distant colony of Great Britain, while the region on the Pacific is an integral portion of our National

Union, and is of the very form and body of our State. The inhabitants of India are alien from England in race, language and religion. The citizens of California, Oregon and Nevada, with the adjacent Territories, are of our own blood and kindred—bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh.

Great Britain appreciates the advantage and perhaps the necessity of maintaining at the cost of large military and naval establishments the interior and nearest route to India, while any nation with hostile intent is compelled to take the longer route and sail many thousand additional miles through dangerous seas. It is hardly conceivable that the same great Power which considers herself justified in these precautions for the safety of a remote colony on another continent should object to the adoption by the United States of similar but far less demonstrative measures for the protection of the distant shores of her own domain, for the drawing together of the extremes of the Union in still closer bonds of interest and sympathy, and for holding to the simple end of honorable self-defense the absolute control of the great water-way which shall unite the two oceans, and which the United States will always insist upon treating as part of her commercial coast-line.

If a hostile movement should at any time be made against the Pacific coast, threatening danger to its people and destruction to its property, the Government of the United States would feel that it had been unfaithful to its duty and neglectful towards its own citizens in permitting itself to be bound by a treaty which gives the same right through the canal to a warship bent on an errand of destruction, that is reserved to its own Navy sailing for the defense of our coast and the protection of the lives of our people. As England insists by the might of her power that her enemies in war shall strike her Indian possessions only by doubling the Cape of Good Hope, the Government of the United States will in like manner insist that the interior, the safer, and more speedy route of the canal shall be reserved for ourselves, while our enemies, if we shall ever be so unfortunate as to have any, shall be remanded to the voyage around Cape Horn.

A consideration of controlling influence in this question is the well-settled conviction on the part of this Government that only by the exercise of supervision on the part of the United States can the Isthmus canals be definitely and at all times secured against the interference and obstruction

incident to war. A mere agreement of neutrality on paper between the great powers of Europe might prove ineffectual to preserve the canal in time of hostilities. The first sound of a cannon in a general European war would, in all probability, annul the treaty of neutrality, and the strategic position of the canal, commanding both oceans, might be held by the first naval power that could seize it. If this should be done, the United States would suffer such grave inconvenience and loss in her domestic commerce as would enforce the duty of a defensive and protective war on her part, for the mere purpose of gaining that control which, in advance, she insists is due to her position and demanded by her necessities.

I am not urging or assuming that a general war, or any war at all, is imminent in Europe. But it must not be forgotten that within the past twenty-five years all the great Powers of Europe have been engaged in war—most of them more than once. In only a single instance in the past hundred years has the United States exchanged a hostile shot with any European power. It is in the highest degree improbable that for a hundred years to come, even that experience will be repeated.

It consequently becomes evident that the one

conclusive mode of preserving any Isthmus canal from the possible distraction and destruction of war is to place it under the control of that Government least likely to be engaged in war, and able in any and in every event to enforce the guardianship which she will assume. For protection of her own interest, therefore, the United States in the first instance asserts her right to control the Isthmus transit; and, secondly, she offers by such control that absolute neutralization of the canal as respects European powers which can in no other way be certainly attained and lastingly assured.

Another consideration forcibly suggests the necessity of modifying the convention under discussion. At the time it was concluded Great Britain and the United States were the only nations prominent in the commerce of Central and South America. Since that time other leading nations have greatly enlarged their commercial connections with that country, and are to-day contending for supremacy in the trade of those shores; within the past four years, indeed, the number of French and German vessels landing on the two coasts of Central America far exceeds the number of British vessels.

While, therefore, Great Britain and the United

States may agree to do nothing, and according to the present convention each remain bound to the other in common helplessness, a third power, or a fourth, or a combination of many, may intervene and give direction to the project which the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty assumed to be under the sole control of the two English-speaking nations. Indeed, so far as the canal scheme now projected at Panama finds a national sponsor or patron, it is in the Republic of France; and the non-intervention enjoined upon this country by the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, if applied to that canal, would paralyze the United States in any attempt to assert the plain rights and privileges which this Government acquired through a solemn treaty with the Republic of Colombia, anterior to the Clayton-Bulwer Convention. The modification of the treaty of 1850, now sought, is not only to free the United States from unequal and inequitable obligations to Great Britain, but also to empower this Government to treat with all other nations seeking a foot-hold on the Isthmus, on the same basis of impartial justice and complete independence.

One of the motives that originally induced this Government to assent to the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, not distinctly expressed in the instrument, but infer-

able from every line of it, was the expected aid of British capital in the construction of the Nicaraguan Canal. That expectation has not been realized, and the changed condition of this country since 1850 has diminished, if it has not entirely removed from consideration, any advantage to be derived from that source.

Whenever, in the judgment of the United States Government, the time shall be auspicious and the conditions favorable for the construction of the Nicaraguan Canal, no aid will be needed outside of the resources of our own Government and people; and while foreign capital will always be welcomed and never repelled, it cannot henceforth enter as an essential factor in the determination of this problem.

It is earnestly hoped by the President that the considerations now presented will have due weight and influence with Her Majesty's Government, and that the modifications of the treaty desired by the United States will be conceded in the same friendly spirit in which they are asked. The following is a summary of the adjustments which would meet the views of this Government:

First, Every part of the treaty which forbids the United States to fortify the canal and hold the

political control of it in conjunction with the country in which it is located, to be canceled.

Second, Every part of the treaty in which Great Britain and the United States agree to make no acquisition of territory in Central America to remain in full force. As an original proposition this Government would not admit that Great Britain and the United States should be put on the same basis, even negatively, with respect to territorial acquisitions on the American Continent, and would be unwilling to establish such a precedent without full explanation. But the treaty contains that provision with respect to Central America, and if the United States should seek its annulment it might give rise to erroneous and mischievous apprehensions among a people with whom this Government desires to be on the most friendly terms. The United States has taken special occasion to assure the Spanish-American Republics that we do not intend and do not desire to cross their borders or in any way disturb their territorial integrity. We shall not therefore willingly incur the risk of a misunderstanding by annulling the clauses in the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty which forbid such a step with respect to Central America. But the acquisition of military and naval stations necessary for the

protection of the canal and voluntarily ceded to the United States by the Central American States is not to be regarded as a violation of the provision contained in the foregoing.

Third, The United States will not object to the clause looking to the establishment of a free port at each end of whatever canal may be constructed, if England desires the clause to be retained.

Fourth, The clause in which the two Governments agree to make treaty stipulations for a joint protectorate of whatever railway or canal might be constructed at Tehuantepec or Panama has never been perfected. No treaty stipulations for the proposed end have been suggested by either party, although citizens of the United States long since constructed a railway at Panama and are now engaged in the same work at Tehuantepec. It is a fair presumption, in the judgment of the President, that this provision should be regarded as obsolete by the non-action and common consent of the two Governments.

Fifth, The clause defining the distance from either end of the canal where, in time of war, captures might be made by either belligerent on the high seas was left incomplete and the distance was never determined. In the judgment of the

President, speaking in the interest of peaceful commerce, this distance should be made as liberal as possible, and might, with advantage, as a question relating to the high seas and common to all nations, be a matter of stipulation between the great Powers of the world.

In assuming as a necessity the political control of whatever canal or canals may be constructed across the Isthmus, the United States will act in entire harmony with the Governments within whose territory the canals should be located. Between the United States and the other American Republics there can be no hostility, no jealousy, no rivalry, no distrust. This Government entertains no design in connection with this project for its own advantage which is not also for the equal or greater advantage of the country to be directly and immediately affected. Nor does the United States seek any exclusive or narrow commercial advantage. It frankly agrees, and will by public proclamation declare at the proper time in conjunction with the republic on whose soil the canal may be located, that the same rights and privileges, the same tolls and obligations for the use of the canal shall apply with absolute impartiality to the merchant marine of every nation on the globe. Equally, in time of

peace, the harmless use of the canal shall be freely granted to the war-vessels of other nations. In time of war, aside from the defensive use to be made of it by the country in which it is constructed and by the United States, the canal shall be impartially closed against the war-vessels of all belligerents. It is the desire and the determination of the United States that the canal shall be used only for the development and increase of peaceful commerce among all the nations, and shall not be considered a strategic point in warfare to tempt the aggressions of belligerents, or be seized under the compulsions of military necessity by any of the great Powers that may have contests in which the United States has no stake, and will take no part.

If it be asked why the United States objects to the assent of European powers to the terms of neutrality for the operation of the canal, the answer of this Government is that the right to assent implies the right to dissent, and thus the whole question would be thrown open for contention as an international issue. It is the fixed purpose of the United States to consider it strictly and solely as an American question, to be dealt with and decided by the American powers.

In presenting the views contained herein to Lord

Granville, you will take occasion to say that the Government of the United States seeks this particular time for the discussion as most opportune and auspicious. At no period since the peace of 1783 have the relations between the British and American governments been so cordial and friendly as now. I am sure, her Majesty's Government will find in the views now suggested, and the propositions now submitted, additional evidence of the desire of this Government to remove all possible grounds of controversy between two nations, which have so many interests in common, and so many reasons for honorable and lasting peace.

You will at the earliest opportunity acquaint Lord Granville with the purpose of the United States touching the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty and, in your own way, you will impress him fully with the views of your Government. I refrain from directing that a copy of this instruction be left with his Lordship, because, in reviewing the case, I have necessarily been compelled, in drawing illustrations from British policy, to indulge somewhat freely in the *argumentum ad hominem*. This course of reasoning, in an instruction to our own minister, is altogether legitimate and pertinent, and yet might seem discourteous if addressed

directly to the British Government. You may deem it expedient to make this explanation to Lord Granville, and if afterwards he shall desire a copy of this instruction, you will, of course, furnish it.

About a week later Lord Granville's deferred reply to the circular letter of June came to hand. It was brief and non-committal, but, as Mr. Blaine had already anticipated, it asserted "that the position of Great Britain and the United States with reference to the canal, irrespective of the magnitude of the commercial relations of the former power with countries to and from which, if completed, it will form the highway, is determined by the engagements entered into by them respectively in the convention, which was signed at Washington on the 19th of April, 1850, commonly known as the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, and her Majesty's Government rely with confidence upon the observance of all the engagements of that treaty."

This gave Mr. Blaine opportunity for a rejoinder, which must be regarded as one of his ablest compositions. In a letter to Mr. Lowell, covering but a few pages of the diplomatic reports, he rapidly piled up in convincing array the historical facts

which showed that the Clayton-Bulwer treaty could by no possibility be regarded as the final word in the isthmus canal debate, but that it had, if anything, added to the causes of differences by its vagueness of expression and the numerous topics which it introduced, only to leave them at loose ends. He showed that in a short time after its adoption the British Government itself proposed the extreme measure of referring the doubtful clauses to a friendly power for arbitration. Six years later the pretensions of the British Government over parts of Nicaragua and the coast islands led to the attempt to reconcile the differences of opinion by the Clarendon-Dallas treaty of 1856, which was never ratified.

[Third dispatch on the subject of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty from Mr. Blaine, Secretary of State, to Mr. James Russell Lowell, Minister at London.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

WASHINGTON, Nov. 29, 1881.

SIR—One week after mailing my instruction to you on the 19th instant touching the presentation to her Majesty's Government of a proposal for the modification of the convention between the two countries of April 19, 1850, better known as the

Clayton-Bulwer treaty, I received Mr. Hoppin's dispatch of the 11th instant, communicating the response of Lord Granville to my circular note of the 24th of June last in relation to the neutrality of any canal across the Isthmus of Panama. I regret that Mr. Hoppin should not have advised me by telegraph of the purport of his Lordship's reply, as it would have enabled me to present the arguments of my dispatch of the 19th instant in a more specific form as meeting a positive issue rather than as generally dealing with a subject which for thirty years has been regarded in but one light by the public opinion of the United States. It seems proper now, however, in reply to his Lordship's note of November 10, to give a summary of the historical objections to the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, and the very decided differences of opinion between the two governments to which its interpretation has given rise.

I need hardly point out to you the well-known circumstance that even at the time of the conclusion of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, a very considerable opposition was shown thereto on the part of farsighted men in public life, who correctly estimated the complications which the uncertain terms of that compact might occasion. It was ably contended

in Congress that its provisions did not, even then, suffice to meet the real points at issue with respect to the guarantee of the neutrality of the whole American Isthmus on bases comporting with the National interests of the United States, and the differences of interpretation soon became so marked as to warrant the extreme proposal of Her Majesty's Government to refer them to the arbitration of a friendly power.

The justice of those doubts became still more evident six years later, when the pretensions put forth by Her Majesty's Government toward territorial protection, if not absolute control, of portions of Nicaragua and of the outlying Bay Islands brought up the precise question as to the extent to which the Clayton-Bulwer compact restrained the projected movement; and thereupon the interpretations respectively put upon that instrument by the United States and Great Britain were perceived to be in open conflict. The attempt made in the Clarendon-Dallas Treaty, which was negotiated on the 17th of October, 1856, to reconcile these opposing contentions, and to place the absolute and independent sovereignty of Nicaragua over its territory on an unmistakable footing, so far as the United States and Great Britain were concerned,

failed by reason of the rejection by Her Majesty's Government of an amendment introduced by the Senate into the Clarendon-Dallas project. From that time onward the inability of the two Governments to agree upon a common interpretation of the letter and spirit of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty may be accepted as an historical fact.

In the discussions between the two governments which attended the failure of the Clarendon-Dallas treaty, the attitude of the United States with respect to the Clayton-Bulwer treaty was amply defined. As early as the 12th of March, 1857, I find that General Cass, then Secretary of State, in course of a conference with Lord Napier, her Majesty's representative—

“passed some reflections on the Clayton-Bulwer treaty; he had voted for it in the Senate, and in doing so he believed that it abrogated all intervention on the part of England in the Central American territory. The British Government had put a different construction upon the treaty, and he regretted the vote he had given in its favor.” (Dispatch of Lord Napier to the Earl of Clarendon, March 12, 1857.)

On the 6th of May, 1857, President Buchanan, in an audience given to Lord Napier, and in response to his Lordship's suggestion that if the attempted adjustment of the difference between the governments as to the Clarendon-Dallas treaty

should fail, the Clayton-Bulwer treaty remained to fall back upon, characterized that instrument in much stronger terms than General Cass had done. To quote Lord Napier's words:

"The President denounced the Clayton-Bulwer treaty as one which has been fraught with misunderstanding and mischief from the beginning; it was concluded under the most opposite constructions by the contracting parties. If the Senate had imagined that it could obtain the interpretation placed upon it by Great Britain, it would not have passed. If he had been in the Senate at the time, that treaty never would have been sanctioned." (Dispatch of Lord Napier to the Earl of Clarendon, May 6, 1857.)

These views are more explicitly and formally repeated in a note addressed by Secretary Cass to Lord Napier on the 29th of May, 1857. He says:

"The Clayton-Bulwer treaty, concluded in the hope that it would put an end to the differences which had arisen between the United States and Great Britain concerning Central American affairs, had been rendered inoperative in some of its most essential provisions by the different constructions which had been reciprocally given to it by the parties. And little is hazarded in saying that, had the interpretation since put upon the treaty by the British Government, and yet maintained, been anticipated, it would not have been negotiated under the instructions of any executive of the United States, nor ratified by the branch of the Government intrusted with the power of ratification."

The publicity of these statements, and the strong feeling which then prevailed in all quarters that the Clayton-Bulwer Convention was inadequate to

reconcile the opposite views of Great Britain and the United States towards Central America, led to a very decided conviction that the treaty should be abrogated. Lord Napier reflected this growing impression when on the 22d of June, 1857, he wrote to Lord Clarendon that—

“It is probable that if the pending discussions regarding Central America be not closed during the present summer, an attempt will be made in the next session of Congress to set aside the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. * * * * * There can be no doubt of the views of the President and Cabinet in this matter.”

Before this tendency could find expression in any official act, a movement on the part of Her Majesty's Government placed the whole matter in a new aspect. Sir William Gore Ouseley was sent out October 30, 1857, as a special minister, with the double purpose of concluding with the Central American States, and especially with Guatemala and Honduras, settlements of the questions relative to the Bay Islands, the Mosquito Territory, and the boundaries of British Honduras, and also of visiting Washington on the way, and conferring with the Secretary of State of the United States, for the purpose of ascertaining the views of his Government, and establishing “a perfect understanding with the United States upon the points respecting

which differences have hitherto existed between the two countries." Among these differences was now superadded to the territorial question of Mosquito, and the Islands, the very question which to-day concerns us, the question of interoceanic communication, which had for some time been the occasion of correspondence between General Cass and Lord Napier, and in relation to which General Cass wrote, on the 20th of October, 1857, as follows:

"I have thus endeavored to meet the frank suggestions of your lordship by restating, with corresponding frankness, the general policy of the United States with respect to the Governments and the interoceanic transits of Central America; but since your lordship has referred to the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850, as contemplating a 'harmonious course of action and counsel between the contracting parties in the settlement of Central American interests,' you will pardon me for reminding your lordship that the differences which this treaty was intended to adjust between the United States and Great Britain still remain unsettled, while the treaty itself has become the subject of new and embarrassing complications."

Prior to the arrival of Sir William Ouseley in the United States, Lord Napier held an important interview with President Buchanan on the 19th of October, 1857, with the object of obtaining "further elucidation of the opinions of the President with reference to the adjustment of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty." On that occasion Lord Napier declared that he believed it to be the intention of Her

Majesty's Government, in Sir William Ouseley's mission, "to carry the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty into execution according to the general tenor of the interpretation put upon it by the United States; but to do so by separate negotiation with the Central American Republics, in lieu of a direct engagement with the Federal Government," and asked that, pending the negotiation intrusted to Sir William Ouseley, "no proposal to annul the (Clayton-Bulwer) treaty would be sanctioned or encouraged" by the President or the members of the United States Government. To this the President cheerfully consented, and promised to modify the statements in his annual message to Congress, accordingly, and under no circumstances to countenance any attempt against the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty in Congress.

Matters being in this state, with Sir William Ouseley's mission announced, and the benevolently expectant attitude of the United States toward it assured, Lord Napier, on the 27th of October, 1857, in conference with General Cass, brought up contingently, as a discarded alternative of his Government, a former proposal to refer the disputed questions to arbitration:

"General Cass remarked in reply [says Lord Napier, writing to the Earl of Clarendon] that he did not repudiate the principle of arbitration on all occasions; he had invoked it, and would do so again where it seemed justly applicable, but that in this matter it was declined by the American Government for the following reasons: The language of the treaty was so clear that in his opinion there ought not to be two opinions about it. * * That it was a mere question of the interpretation of the English language, and he held that a foreign Government was not so competent to decide in such a question as the United States and England, who possessed that language in common."

The Earl of Clarendon in reply approved Lord Napier's course in broaching anew the suggestion of arbitration, and authorized him to renew formally, in writing, the offer to refer the disputed questions arising out of the interpretation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty to the decision of any European power (instruction November 13, 1857), and this was accordingly done by Lord Napier in a note to General Cass, dated November 30, 1857.

In his annual message to Congress in December, 1857, President Buchanan, after narrating the negotiation and failure of the Clarendon-Dallas Treaty, said:

"The fact is, that when two nations like Great Britain and the United States, mutually desirous, as they are, and I trust ever may be, of maintaining the most friendly relations with each other, have unfortunately concluded a treaty whch they understand in senses directly opposite, the wisest course is to abrogate such a treaty by mutual consent

and commence anew. * * * Whilst entertaining these sentiments, I shall nevertheless not refuse to contribute to any reasonable adjustment of the Central American questions which is not practically inconsistent with the American interpretation of the treaty. Overtures for this purpose have been recently made by the British Government in a friendly spirit which I cordially reciprocate."

Meanwhile the Earl of Clarendon had instructed Sir William Ouseley, under date of November 19, 1857—

"not to commit Her Majesty's Government to any course whatever in respect to the Bay Islands, till the intentions of the Congress of the United States in regard to the treaty of 1850 are clearly ascertained."

The situation, then, at the close of 1857, presented a triple deadlock. The United States had agreed not to move toward the abrogation of the treaty until it could be seen what interpretation of its provisions would result from Sir William Ouseley's mission. Sir William had received positive instructions not to move until the United States should decide whether to abrogate the treaty or not; and Lord Napier was forbidden to move until the United States should make formal answer to the proposal for arbitration. The instructions of Lord Clarendon to Lord Napier, January 22, 1858, contained these words:

"We are decidedly of opinion that it would neither be consistent with our dignity nor our interest to make any

proposal to the United States Government until we have received a formal answer to our formal offer of arbitration. In the event of the offer being refused, it will be a great and hardly justifiable proof of the spirit of conciliation by which we are animated, if we then show ourselves disposed to abrogate the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty; but we must not be in too great haste."

In order, apparently, to break this deadlock, Lord Napier wrote to General Cass, February 17, 1858, that—

"Something in the nature of an alternative was thus offered to the American Cabinet. Should the expedient of arbitration be adopted, a great portion of Sir William Ouseley's duty would be transferred to other agencies. Should arbitration be declined, it was hoped that the efforts of Her Majesty's envoy would result in a settlement agreeable to the United States, inasmuch as in essential points it would carry the treaty of 1850 into operation in a manner practically conformable to the American interpretation of that instrument."

On the 10th of March, 1858, the Earl of Malmesbury, who had succeeded Lord Clarendon in the foreign office, instructed Lord Napier that until an answer was returned to the proposal for arbitration—

"No further step can be taken by Her Majesty's Government with that of the United States in regard to that matter; [and further, that] when this point is cleared up, Her Majesty's Government, supposing that the Government of the United States decline arbitration, will have to determine whether they should originate a proposal for the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, or adopt any other course which the circumstances at the moment may seem to recommend."

It appears, however, that the proposal to abrogate the treaty, which Lord Malmesbury reserved the right to originate, had already been communicated to the Government of the United States by Lord Napier, under instructions from Lord Clarendon. In a dispatch, dated March 22, 1858, Lord Napier wrote:

“The Earl of Clarendon authorized me to inform General Cass that Her Majesty’s Government would not decline the consideration of a proposal for the abrogation of the treaty by mutual concert. * * * I have accordingly, on two occasions, informed General Cass that if the Government of the United States be still of the same mind, and continue to desire the abrogation of the treaty of 1850, it would be agreeable to Her Majesty’s Government that they should insert a proposal to that effect in their reply to my note respecting arbitration.”

Lord Napier further reports in detail the conversations which he had with General Cass as to the most proper method of effecting such abrogation, if agreed to.

In reply to this dispatch of Lord Napier, the Earl of Malmesbury instructed him, April 8, 1858, that his action was approved, and that he should confine himself to pressing for an answer to his proposal for arbitration. His Lordship added these significant words:

“Her Majesty’s Government, if the initiative is still left to them by the unwillingness of the United States themselves

to propose abrogation, desire to retain full liberty as to the manner and form in which any such proposal shall be laid on their behalf before the Cabinet at Washington. * * * The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty has been a source of increasing embarrassment to this country and Her Majesty's Government, if they should be so fortunate as to extricate themselves from the difficulties which have resulted from it, will not involve themselves, directly or indirectly, in any similar difficulties for the future."

The answer of General Cass, to Lord Napier's several proposals, was briefly to the effect that pending the results expected from Sir William Ouseley's mission to the Central American States, the United States could not adopt the alternative of arbitration, "even if it had not been twice rejected before," and that if—

"the President does not hasten to consider now the alternative of repealing the treaty of 1850, it is because he does not wish prematurely to anticipate the failure of Sir William Ouseley's mission, and is disposed to give a new proof to Her Majesty's Government of his sincere desire to preserve the amicable relations which now happily subsist between the two countries." (General Cass to Lord Napier, April 6, 1858.)

In this posture of affairs the Earl of Malmesbury instructed Sir William Ouseley to open direct negotiations with the Central America States; and on the 18th of August instructed Lord Napier to inform the Government of the United States of the intentions and object of Her Majesty's Government in the premises. His lordship added—

“Modification, arbitration, and abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty have been *flatly rejected*. Great Britain and Nicaragua are now about to treat as independent states.”

I have emphasized the phrase “flatly rejected” in view of a subsequent instruction of the Earl of Malmesbury to Lord Napier on the 8th of December, 1858, wherein he said:

“I think you would have done better if you had not too pointedly brought before the United States Government the notion that the British Government might view with favor a proposal to abrogate the Clayton-Bulwer treaty.”

It is not difficult in following this narrative to discern that General Cass, though not desiring to express it, had an additional motive for declining to propose, at that particular time, the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. He did not desire by such proposed abrogation to indicate his willingness that Sir William Gore Ouseley should make treaties with the separate States of Central America unrestrained by the clauses of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty inhibiting the extension of British power in that region. General Cass, with his accustomed caution and wisdom, clearly perceived that for the United States to propose abrogation on the very eve of Sir William Ouseley's mission would lead to injurious inferences and would imply conclusions which the United States was not

prepared to admit. Objectionable as General Cass thought the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, he preferred to adhere to its terms rather than give the implied consent of this Government that Great Britain should obtain such treaties as the force of her power might secure in Central America. The subsequent note of Lord Malmesbury, not strained by an uncharitable construction, throws additional light on the subject and confirms the wisdom of General Cass in declining to propose abrogation at that time. General Cass moreover evidently desired to retain those very clauses of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty to which, in my dispatch of the 19th, I proposed on the part of this government to adhere.

I have dwelt with somewhat of detail on this historic episode, partly because it admirably illustrates the spirit with which both governments have regarded the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty from the first, and partly because it had more direct bearing on the question of the guarantee of any Isthmian transit than any other discussion of the time. In perusing the voluminous correspondence, the part unprinted as well as that printed and submitted at the time to Congress and to Parliament, I am more than ever struck by the elastic

character of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, and the purpose it has served as an ultimate recourse on the part of either government to check apprehended designs in Central America on the part of the other, although all the while it was frankly admitted on both sides that the engagements of the treaty were misunderstandingly entered into, imperfectly comprehended, contradictorily interpreted and mutually vexatious.

I am strengthened in this impression by the circumstance that in his response to my dispatch of the 24th of June last, Earl Granville takes the ground that the position of Great Britain and the United States toward the projected Panama Canal is determined by the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. How far the engagements of that compact extend to the Isthmus of Panama, in the sense in which they extend to the projected Nicaraguan transit under the provisions of Article VIII. does not seem likely to become a subject for discussion between the two governments. For it will be observed that this article does not stretch the guarantees and restrictions of Article I. over either the Tehuantepec route through Mexican territory, or the Panama route through Colombian territory. It is in terms an agreement to extend the protection of both countries, by

treaty stipulations, to those or any practical waterways or railways from ocean to ocean across the Isthmus, outside of Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Mosquito Coast, or any part of Central America. So far as this inchoate agreement to agree hereafter is applicable to the Panama transit, I have amply shown, in my dispatch of the 19th instant, that the obligations embraced on the part of the United States in concluding the prior convention with the Republic of New Granada (now Colombia) in 1846, requires that the United States should be freed from unequal and inequitable obligations to Great Britain under the vague and as yet unperfected compact of 1850.

My main object in writing this instruction has been to strengthen you in any discussion which may now ensue as to the benefits of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, and the mutual interest of the two countries in conserving it as the basis of a settlement of all questions between them touching Central American and Isthmian questions. It will be seen that from the time of its conclusion in 1850 until the end of 1858, its provisions were thrice made the basis of a proposal to arbitrate as to their meaning, that modification and abrogation have been alike contingently considered, and that its

vexatious and imperfect character has been repeatedly recognized on both sides. The present proposal of this Government is to free it from those embarrassing features, and leave it, as its framers intended it should be, a full and perfect settlement, for all time, of all possible issues between the United States and Great Britain with regard to Central America.

If in your conferences with Earl Granville it should seem necessary, you will make free use of the precedents I have cited, and should you, within the discretionary limits confided at the end of my dispatch of June 24th, have given a copy thereof to his lordship, you are equally at liberty to let him have a copy of this also, with the same explanation, that it is for your use, and not written as a formal note for communication to Her Majesty's Government.

Mr. Blaine re-entered public life with distinct purposes in view. He wished to complete the work that was interrupted in 1881 by the death of Garfield. More intimate political and economic relations with the nations of Central and South America had been his dream for years, and he devoted the three years of his Secretaryship of

State to working for the good of the three Americas and the United States in particular.

So industriously did Mr. Blaine work that not a year of President Harrison's administration had elapsed before the Peace Congress, conceived by Mr. Blaine just before his entrance to Garfield's Cabinet, materialized.

The Pan-American Conference was one of the most comprehensive schemes ever put into execution in the Western Hemisphere. It represented a magnificent idea of inter-republican agreement which had been floating in the minds of dreamers for fifty years, but which no statesman up to the time of Mr. Blaine had had the enterprise to bring to a head.

Mr. Blaine believed that the United States should have a foreign policy and not remain a mere negative force in international affairs. The general lines of his ideas on this subject were in perfect accord with the Monroe doctrine. He believed that the United States, by reason of its population, wealth and territorial extent, should speak with the voice of authority upon all matters relating to the interference of a European or Asiatic power in the affairs of any of the governments on the North or South American continent. Moreover, he was

firmly convinced that the time had come when some active steps should be taken by this Government to bring about a closer relationship between the nations of the new world. This was one of the principal ideas with which he entered upon the duties of Secretary of State in President Harrison's Cabinet.

It has been shown how the assassination of President Garfield had some years before put an end to the carrying out of this comprehensive plan, and when Mr. Blaine returned to the State Department its execution was one of the first matters to which he devoted his attention. A general invitation was issued to all the governments of Central and South America to send delegates to the conference. Each government was allowed to send as many delegates as it might see fit, but was to have only one vote at the conference, where the United States was likewise to be represented. The invitations were readily accepted, and seventeen nations were represented on October 2, 1889, when Mr. Blaine called the meeting to order in the State Department.

What the objects were with which this distinguished gathering had been assembled was best illustrated by the opening remarks of Mr. Blaine upon that occasion. He said:

The delegates whom I am addressing can do much to establish permanent relations of confidence, respect and friendship between the nations which they represent. They can show to the world an honorable and peaceful conference of seventeen independent American powers in which all shall meet together on terms of absolute equality; a conference in which there can be no attempt to coerce a single delegate against his own conception of the interests of his nation; a conference which will permit no secret understanding on any subject, but will frankly publish to the world all its conclusions; a conference which will tolerate no spirit of conquest, but will aim to cultivate an American sympathy as broad as both continents; a conference which will form no selfish alliance against the older nations from which we are proud to claim inheritance; a conference, in fine, which will seek nothing, propose nothing, endure nothing that is not in the general sense of all the delegates timely and wise and peaceful.

We meet in the firm belief that the nations of America ought to and can be more helpful each to the other than they now are, and that each will find advantage and profit from an enlarged intercourse with the others. We believe that we should be

drawn together more closely by the highways of the sea, and that at no distant day the railway systems of the North and South will meet upon the Isthmus and connect by land routes the political and commercial capitals of all America."

The work which the Conference should undertake was defined by Mr. Blaine as follows:

First—Measures that shall tend to preserve and promote the prosperity of the several American States.

Second—Measures towards the formation of an American customs union, under which the trade of the American nations with each other shall, so far as possible and profitable, be promoted.

Third—The establishment of regular and frequent communication between the ports of the several American States and the ports of each other.

Fourth—The establishment of a uniform system of customs regulations in each of the independent American States, to govern the mode of importation and exportation of merchandise and port dues and charges, a uniform method of determining the classification and valuation of such merchandise in the ports of each country, and a uniform system of invoices, and the subject of the sanitation of ships and quarantine.

Fifth—The adoption of a uniform system of weights and measures, and laws to protect the patent rights, copyrights and trade marks of citizens of either country in the other, and for the extradition of criminals.

Sixth—The adoption of a common silver coin, to be issued by each Government, the same to be legal tender in all commercial transactions between the citizens of all the American States.

Seventh—An agreement upon and recommendation for adoption to their respective governments of a definite plan of arbitration of all questions, disputes and differences that may now or hereafter arise between them, to the end that all difficulties and disputes between such nations may be peacefully settled and wars prevented.

Eighth—And to consider such other subjects relating to the welfare of the several States represented as may be presented by any of said States which are hereby invited to participate in said Conference.

These and many other subjects were considered by the delegates, who manifested a deep interest in the proceedings. The workings of the conference were closely watched in Europe, where it was seen that it contained the germ of an idea which

might one day bind all of the peoples of the three Americas into a politically solid and homogeneous mass.

The English newspapers predicted that if this were its object the conference would be a failure, and it was generally supposed that the wish was father to the thought. The principal argument which the European critics advanced why the Pan-American Conference would be a failure was that there was an utter lack of sympathy between English-speaking people of the North and the Spanish-speaking people of South America.

The conference was effective in making known to this gathering of representative South Americans the wealth and material resources of the United States. A 5,000-mile railway journey was undertaken for the entertainment of the guests of the nation, and a special train provided which carried them over the whole distance. They visited the New England and the Middle States and saw a large portion of the West, but a contemplated trip through the South was abandoned.

It was sight-seeing upon a scale never before attempted, and during the whole time the guests of the nation were treated with a generous hospitality at the expense of the Federal Government.

But, as a Boston merchant put it, "The advertisement alone was worth all the money."

The delegates, however, did more than see the sights and allow themselves to be entertained. They considered at length numerous proposals possible of execution and looking towards a closer and more permanent relationship between the various governments of the New World. Among their recommendations were a Pan-American railway, a bank for international exchange, and important modifications in regard to postal laws, coinage and weights and measures.

The object of cultivating a more friendly relation between the South American governments and the United States was accomplished.

When the McKinley bill was being considered by the Ways and Means Committee, Mr. Blaine urged the incorporation of reciprocity clauses. He proposed that the President should have power to open the ports of the United States to any or all of the products of the other American nations and colonies, whenever and for as long as they should admit to their ports, duty free or at reduced rates, an equivalent amount of the natural and manufactured products of the United States. The suggestion was renewed in the Senate, and it found more favor

than it did before the Ways and Means Committee. It was the most daring proposition of recent years.

An amendment to the bill was finally adopted. It was not Mr. Blaine's suggestion, but it was directly due to it. It provides that certain articles shall be placed upon the free list, but that after a given time duty should be reduced upon goods imported from countries that decided to make equivalent concessions. Under the new law, reciprocity treaties were made with Brazil and several other South American countries, beside Spain and other European nations. The wisdom of Mr. Blaine's proposition is shown by the fact that since the execution of the first of these treaties of trade there has been an extension of the foreign trade of the United States amounting to \$75,000,000, while taxation has been reduced to the extent of \$80,000,000.

To accomplish this great commercial coup was Mr. Blaine's chief motive for entering the Cabinet, but his administration of the other affairs of State have been marked with singular success. There have been few administrations in the country's history which have had to face so many subtle international questions, but the results reached were invariably to the credit of the United States.

With Germany there was the Samoan difficulty, with England the Bering Sea dispute, with Italy the New Orleans imbroglio and with Chili the Riggin affair. Three of these were well settled through masterly diplomacy and great tact. The fourth, the Bering Sea affair, still remains unsettled, but it is progressing to a termination which, it is believed, will be acceptable to the country.

Reminiscences by Distinguished Men.

CABINET OFFICERS TESTIFY.

Attorney-General Miller said: "It is customary to speak of one, who being elected to the Vice-Presidency, becomes President, as an accidental President. With reference to Mr. Blaine, it may be truly said that his failure to be President was an accident. The desire of an old gentleman to make a striking sentence by alliteration defeated the worthy ambition of a life time, and in no small degree changed the direction of public affairs in the nation. In the whole history of the country there has scarcely been a more striking figure than Mr. Blaine, and no personality in the country has been more strongly impressed upon his contemporaries.

"At the funeral of Daniel Webster one of his neighbors, who lived near Marshfield, looking on the face of the dead statesman said: 'Daniel Web-

ster, the world will be lonesome without you.' The same may be said with propriety of James G. Blaine. Mr. Blaine, with the possible exception of Henry Clay, was the most brilliant statesman and political leader this country has ever produced. An excellent judge of character, he understood instinctively the strong and weak points of those with whom he came in contact. Full of human sympathy, he received all who approached him with a kindness and affability that made them at once his friends. He was a most accurate judge of public sentiment, and he knew, as few men did, how to present a question of public policy so as to appeal to the sympathy and win the support of the people. He was a born leader of men and richly endowed by nature with all those qualities that make a great statesman.

"In the United States a thorough legal training is almost indispensable to a great and diversified public career. That without such training Mr. Blaine could achieve success in the various positions he has been called upon to fill is an additional evidence of his extraordinary natural powers."

Said Secretary Noble: "James G. Blaine died within three days of the sixty-third anniversary of his birth and little less than thirty years from the

time he entered Congress, on the first Monday of December, 1863. During this long and most eventful period he held the attention and commanded the respect of his countrymen to a most extraordinary degree—more, I think, than any other political leader save Lincoln or Clay. Like Clay, his followers were loving and enthusiastic, and alike they achieved great success but failed to reach the summit of their ambition—the Presidency. Blaine was highly intellectual and refined. He had great mental discipline and vigor, with physical strength and the courage of his convictions. His learning and experience gave him immense resources of precedent and illustration, and no man was ever more ready to see his opportunity or take advantage of his opponent in debate.

Secretary Elkins said: “Mr. Blaine was a wonderful man and wonderfully gifted. He was one of the greatest statesmen and political leaders the country has produced, and the most conspicuous leader of his time. He was the idol of his party—the most loved man in it. He had, more than any other political leader in the country, the most enthusiastic following and best and most loyal friends. He inspired his party more thoroughly than any other man in it. For nearly twenty

years he did more than any other leader to shape its policy. His control over men, his power to draw them to him and command their unselfish support was beyond that of any other party leader in the history of the country.

“His loss will be widely felt and mourned, but his life will be a continuing inspiration to his party. Mr. Blaine, though thoroughly educated, full of culture and accomplishments, never paraded his learning. He was versatile, full of resources and more widely informed than any man or statesman of his time. In a certain sense, he was modest, seldom speaking of himself, his position or commanding influence in his party and in the country. He was broad, liberal and just, always generous to an opponent; tender, gentle and affectionate toward his friends. He sought the Presidency in '76, after that seemingly abandoning all hope of ever reaching that high place. In '84 he did not seek the nomination, and in '88 steadfastly refused to allow his name to go before the convention.

“Of late years he was not only the central figure in American politics, but at all social gatherings and wherever he went. In and out of office he attracted more attention and excited more enthusiasm than any other citizen of the republic. Wherever

he went people always eagerly turned to look at him, or stopped to see him as he passed by. His claim to greatness will rest upon his literary work and his statesmanship. Either would place him in the front rank of the greatest men of the republic."

Postmaster-General Wanamaker said: "Eleven years ago I made the acquaintance of Mr. Blaine, when, at his invitation, I went to his house with his intimate personal friend for consultation about accepting public office. The friendship then begun ripened in the 1884 campaign, and since 1887 has been more or less intimate. His kindness and enthusiasm that so greatly attracted everyone were often manifested in a special degree to Pennsylvanians, among whom he was born. He liked to talk of people in Philadelphia who lived at the time he was teacher and editor there. I shall not soon forget the last hours spent with him when he talked freely about his feelings and his plans, about a week before he went up-stairs for the last time. Pennsylvania may well be proud of her brilliant son, clever as Henry Clay and eloquent as Daniel Webster. As an all-around statesman his name will always be cherished with the ten greatest Americans."

Secretary of State Foster said: "Other of his

friends are more competent to speak of Mr. Blaine's services and genius in Congress, in politics and in literature. In diplomacy his chief characteristic was his exalted Americanism. He was a thorough believer in the Monroe Doctrine, and the reciprocity policy, which distinguished the close of his public career, was the outgrowth of his convictions respecting that doctrine. His diplomatic correspondence will rank among the best of his political productions. His reputation abroad will mainly rest upon his acts as Secretary of State, and it is not an exaggeration to say that in the past ten years, at least, he has been the best-known American in foreign lands."

Secretary of the Treasury Foster said: "I first met Mr. Blaine when he became a member of the Forty-second Congress, and during his six years' service as Speaker of the House of Representatives. At that time he was in full health and a magnificent specimen, both physically and mentally, of mature manhood. As Speaker, he was the absolute dictator of the proceedings of the House, enjoying more fully the respect and confidence of the members than, perhaps, any other Speaker, with, perhaps, the exception of Henry Clay, whose career Mr. Blaine's so much resem-

bled. His career has been one of leadership, and without doubt he possessed the confidence, respect and affection of the vast majority of the American people more than any man of his time. His fame is world wide. His personal popularity and his hold upon the popular affection was not confined to his own party. His death will be sincerely mourned."

EX-PRESIDENT CLEVELAND.

Mr. Cleveland said: "The first time I ever saw Mr. Blaine I had a very pleasant interview with him at the White House, shortly after my inauguration as President. While I have seen but very little of him since that time, yet in a personal way, in common with all other American citizens, I have not failed to admire his traits, the breadth of his information and the alertness of his intellect. A figure like his," continued Mr. Cleveland, "which has been so prominently before the people, and which they have so long seen in different lights, cannot fail to be long remembered by those of the present generation and will certainly occupy a large place in the history of the country.

"In common with all his countrymen," concluded Mr. Cleveland, "I share the regret occa-

sioned by the death of a man such as Mr. Blaine, so well entitled to be called an American statesman, irrespective of differences in political beliefs or of opinions touching public questions."

HIS ADOPTED STATE TESTIFIES.

The Rev. Dr. E. D. Webb, formerly pastor of the Shawmut Congregational Church of Boston, and at one time Mr. Blaine's pastor in Augusta, said: "I was his pastor for ten years, and afterward, when we met, we used to often converse on religious topics. On one occasion I congratulated him on his success as a politician, and then said: 'Mr. Blaine, lay all at the Master's feet.' His reply was: 'If I had studied my Bible as diligently as I have Daniel Webster I should be a better Christian than I am.' The ease and beauty of his literary style was like Macauley's. In politics he has always been a better man than those who accused him. I have always taken the liberty when with him of criticising any speech, act or vote of his that I disliked. But in a great majority of cases he has taken away my objections or proved that he was right. The first time he was nominated for the Presidency he was supremely

desirous of being elected. He told me he had left no stone unturned he could honorably turn to his advantage, but after that defeat he never really desired to be President. I saw him last in April. I told him I was very sorry for the letter he had written declining to be a candidate, and I thought the country generally was sorry to see it. Looking out across the street where the residence of the Nation's Chief Executive could be seen, I said: 'You were never so near the White House as you are to-day.' Raising his hand to his breast, he said: 'My friends are good enough to say so, but it excites no desires here.' "

J. H. Manley, of Augusta, Me., said: "It is not extending in any degree the literal truth to say that no American citizen ever possessed truer, dearer friends than James G. Blaine. He had a personal following unsurpassed in the history of this Republic, and his death causes true mourning in every section of the land. Truly can it be said that 'the heart of the Nation throbs heavily at his grave.' Those who knew him intimately, who knew his home life, his true character, his noble qualities, understand his great popularity. The mistakes of his life were always made against himself. He never posed as a perfect man, never

flaunted his virtues or his greatness, never boasted, had no tinge of jealousy, never sought praise or reward for speech or act, had no malice in his heart, but he could be, and often was, righteously indignant. He was calmest in storm and most fearless under attack; was generosity itself, always thinking of others and abounding in the truest and broadest charity. He was often misunderstood and misjudged, but wherever his true character and his true and upright life is known he will stand as one of the greatest characters of American manhood. Thoroughly patriotic, eminently wise, absolutely just in every relation in life, his fame and his name will continue to shed lustre upon the land he loved and served so long as the English language is spoken."

The acquaintance of Mr. Frye, the senior Maine Senator, with Mr. Blaine was very extended. He said: "I was a member of the Maine Legislature when Mr. Blaine was the Speaker of the Maine House, and I have been closely connected with him ever since. I was also a member of the National House when he was Speaker. I think he was the most brilliant man I ever knew. He had a most wonderful capacity for absorbing thought and a still more wonderful capacity for giving it out at a

timely moment. Indeed, his powers were not fully shown in set speeches, and he was a much more dangerous foe in a running debate. I don't think he himself ever fancied making what is known as a speech. On the stump nothing pleased him better than interruption, and he was wonderfully effective in his replies. They were so apt, as a rule, that some of his enemies occasionally charged him with 'setting up jobs' in advance."

NEW YORK, Jan. 27.—In a letter Samuel Fessenden writes:

"Mr. Blaine was a patriot in the broadest sense of the term; a most intense lover of his country; a man whose native ability entitled him to take a leading position among the great men of the world, and who had the force and courage to command it.

"Nature endowed him with the most brilliant talents, and their versatility is shown in the rank accorded him as a scholar and author, while the attainments he acquired prove that he was an indefatigable worker in the fields of science and literature as well as in those of politics and diplomacy. He was not only a great leader, but a great statesman.

"No man deserved and no man secured from those with whom he was associated warmer

attachments or more sincere and lasting affection and love. That affection and love he ever reciprocated with the most unswerving loyalty. In my judgment, no personal desire or ambition was nearer or dearer to him than the welfare of his country. Though one of the most bitterly assailed of public men, he lived to enjoy the esteem and affection of a vast majority of his countrymen without distinction of party.

(Signed)

“SAMUEL FESSENDEN.”

RUSSELL SAGE'S ESTIMATE OF HIM.

Russell Sage said: “I have known Mr. Blaine intimately for fifteen or twenty years, and for the last twelve years I have regarded him as one of the most accomplished public men of the country. He was a Gladstone as compared with the statesmen of Europe. He was a man of very broad and mature judgment. Many regarded him merely as a brilliant man, a genius. I never looked at him in that light, but rather as a close student of all public matters, and very comprehensive on all subjects relating to the management of National and international affairs. He was on a higher plane of statesmanship than the average politician. This

very ability to comprehend in all its details and make himself master of the most intricate question of the day placed him in the front rank of American statesmen.' But for his domestic sorrows and failing health we should, I think, have had a different state of things than we have at the present time; but we must submit to the purposes of an all-wise Creator. It will in my opinion be a long time before the country will produce another man like Mr. Blaine, with all his broad ideas, his abilities as a statesman, and his power—which some men were pleased to call his magnetism—of drawing men to him and accomplishing satisfactorily and successfully his undertakings. And while his death is too recent to allow of that just now, as time passes the people of this country will come to regard him as one of the greatest men of the nineteenth century."

John H. Inman said: "I looked upon Mr. Blaine as one of the greatest Americans. By his political opponents he was considered as one of the most brilliant and magnetic of men. They respected him as a far-seeing and broad man. His opposition to the Federal Elections bill endeared him to the South."

Jesse Seligman said: "Mr. Blaine was the

greatest living statesman—that covers his career and comment upon it. He was a statesman in every sense of the word, and his death is to be deplored. Such men as he are rare, and it will be hard to find a successor to him. While he was a magnetic man, he had, in addition, a master mind that seized all the points, however far-reaching, of the many important matters with which he had to deal. He was a genial, kind-hearted man, willing at all times to do any possible favor for a friend.”

Apologizing for the inadequacy of his tribute, Brayton Ives, president of the Western National Bank, stopped in the midst of pressing business, to say:

“I first met Mr. Blaine a number of years ago at the house of William Walter Phelps, who asked me to lunch there, very informally, one Sunday. Mr. Blaine and I were the only guests, and I have always remembered with especial pleasure the talk we had in the library after lunch. I was at that time impressed by the proof given by Mr. Blaine of the accuracy of his memory. Some topic was under discussion, about which Mr. Phelps and Mr. Blaine entertained different views. To substantiate his position Mr. Blaine said that in a certain number of *The North American Review*, published several

years before that time, could be found a passage which would prove the correctness of his opinions. Mr. Phelps took the volume from one of his shelves, and found the passage exactly as Mr. Blaine had predicted. From that time it has been my good fortune to meet Mr. Blaine at intervals, and, in common with all his acquaintances, I have experienced the charm of his personality. I have seen him at his home at Bar Harbor, where his genial nature appeared to especial advantage.

“I was so fond of Mr. Blaine as a man that I should find it difficult to speak of him simply as a public character. He was so full of life, so quick, strong and magnetic, that no one could meet him without feeling that he was no common man. He had, to a remarkable degree, that ‘king’s memory’ which enabled him to remember names and faces. Possessing unusual courage and even audacity, an active and aggressive foe, he had, nevertheless, a warm heart, and was a loyal friend. Of late years he has had to bear domestic afflictions sufficient to break down any man, and in his case it attacked the most vulnerable side of his nature. Whatever difference of opinion there may be as to his merit as a politician and statesman, none will deny that he was a loyal and devoted husband and a loving

father. He was, in the fullest and broadest sense of the word, a man. The death of such a man, at a time of life when under favorable conditions his powers would be in full maturity, can be regarded only as a National loss."

Senator George F. Hoar said: "To draw an adequate portrait of Mr. Blaine would require almost his own genius. He was, since the death of our great military chieftains, the most conspicuous and striking personal presence in American public life. Even when Grant, Sherman and Sheridan were at the height of their fame Mr. Blaine shared with them the affection of his countrymen, and his coming would probably have created anywhere in the country as great popular enthusiasm as that of either of the three great chieftains. The feeling for him was that which is felt for a bright and attractive boy. He had always, amid the most serious and grave responsibilities, that gift of youth which was the charm of Charles James Fox, and which made him the best beloved of the great English statesmen. Mr. Blaine had a marvelous literary instinct. His style was free from exaggeration and excess and the little pomposities of phrase which are the vice of our American speech. His eulogy on Garfield has always seemed to me

one of the most exquisite productions of the class to which it belongs. Mr. Blaine had great skill in seeing what position on difficult and exciting public questions was likely to receive the support of his party, and to be popular in the country. I think his leadership, if his health had been continued, would have prolonged the lease of power of the Republican party. Mr. Blaine was a learned man in American politics. He had his knowledge always at his command. It lent a great charm to his familiar conversation at his own table, where he was the most charming of hosts, and in society, where he was the most sought for of guests. I think it a great pity that he was never elected President. I think his pilotage would have steered the vessel of the Republic safely. His administration of the Department of State was enough to show how mistaken were those who expected a quarrelsome, sensational, fickle, and feeble administration of foreign affairs of the country."

Judge E. Rockwood Hoar said: "Mr. Blaine was one of the most impressive figures of our country. He was patriotic, resolute and a born fighter. His influence on the legislation and politics of the country has not been exceeded by the influence of any other man while he has been

in public life, and he was personally very attractive. While I always thought him undoubtedly personally ambitious, yet he was direct in his methods, honorable and magnanimous."

Special Treasury Agent, L. M. Montgomery, said: "I happened to know Mr. Blaine many years ago, and was struck by his remembrance of families and pedigrees. He probably excelled any man in the United States in that. If a person were introduced to him the name gave him an opportunity at once of identifying the family and all its branches, with an intimacy that frequently surprised members of it. In this respect he had but two equals, Gladstone and Bismarck. I had frequent interviews with Mr. Blaine on the subject of commercial relations between the United States and the American-Latin countries. He always deplored the absence of intelligent traders on our side to compete with the German and the English, who dominate the commerce in South America. His ideas were those of a broad statesman, expressed with the magnetism of a scholar. He was deeply and sincerely interested in the cause of Ireland, and his last visit to Europe was closely allied with that subject."

"My friendship with Mr. Blaine," said Assistant

Treasurer Ellis H. Roberts, "covers over twenty years. He was, in my judgment, one of the foremost Americans of this generation, ranking with the greatest of our statesmen of any era. Versatile, an accomplished scholar in many departments, always in command of his marvellous intellectual resources, with rare faculties for leadership, he will grow in reputation with the years. To-day no other American civilian, except Lincoln, is so highly estimated abroad. Had he been nominated for President in 1876, the problem of the reconciliation of the South would have met a solution with less friction and better results than have been witnessed. Few lives have closed with so many elements of inexpressible sadness."

Senator Sawyer, of Wisconsin, tells the following as to Mr. Blaine's wonderful memory for names and faces: "In 1874," he said, "Mr. Blaine made a speech in Wisconsin, and he stopped with me. While he was there I gave a dinner in Mr. Blaine's honor, to which I invited Mr. Meyer, of Fond-du-Lac. In 1891, more than sixteen years afterward, Mr. Meyer came here and I took him to call on Mr. Blaine. Before we got there we met Mr. Blaine, and when within about forty feet of him he walked quickly forward and, without any

hesitation, said: 'Mr. C. L. J. Meyer, how do you do?' "

A gentleman of the party with Senator Sawyer said: "I was with Mr. Blaine when he visited Lancaster, O., during a campaign. Mr. Blaine had lived there, and he got a great reception. He remembered all the old residents. Finally some one brought in a man whom they said he would not remember.

"Mr. Blaine replied: 'Yes, I do; give me a little time.' Pretty soon he remarked to the man: 'I never saw you but once;' and then he told this story:

" 'When I was a boy there was great excitement one day because a convict had escaped from the Columbus Penitentiary, and had been tracked into that neighborhood. Police arrested him and I (Mr. Blaine) was one of the crowd around. The man was taken to a blacksmith shop and had fetters riveted on him by the blacksmith. You (turning to the man) and I walked home to Lancaster together after that.' "

Henry Clews remarked: "The announcement of the death of Mr. Blaine this morning, while not unexpected, was still a shock, and of course was received with profound sorrow in Wall street,

where his friends are very numerous. Mr. Blaine was unmistakably one of this country's most brilliant lights, and now that it has gone out, will leave in its place a dark niche difficult to fill. Those who knew him well will never forget his wonderful abilities and magnetic influence. Few countries have produced a greater or more remarkable man, which history will record. Mr. Blaine was truly a great statesman as well as an astute politician. He was a bold defender of the Nation in all emergencies and was always found equal and fully equipped for the task. He was never eclipsed in courtesy, beaten in argument or outdone in bluff. He was remarkable in having the faculty of never making personal enemies; in fact, he distinctly avoided doing so, although the members of his family often did for him. In natural and cultivated intelligence on all subjects he was almost without a peer. My acquaintance with him extended over twenty-five years, and therefore I know whereof I speak. Probably no man ever lived in this country for whom there was more real, live enthusiastic personal admiration than Mr. Blaine."

THE STATESMAN'S NEW YORK HOTEL—
LOVE FOR MR. BLAINE AMONG THE
PEOPLE OF THE FIFTH AVENUE.

The Fifth Avenue Hotel was Mr. Blaine's home when he was in New York. Hiram Hitchcock, who has been the proprietor of the house since 1859, when it was built, and Mr. Blaine were close friends, and Mr. Hitchcock knew the ex-Secretary intimately. Mr. Hitchcock spent many pleasant days with the ex-Secretary at Bar Harbor, and when Mr. Blaine was at the Fifth Avenue Hotel he always felt at home. Mr. Hitchcock, in speaking of Mr. Blaine to a *Tribune* reporter, said:

"Mr. Blaine, in his remarkable career, spent much of his time in New York, and the last time I saw him he said to me that he had never slept in any hotel in New York except the Fifth Avenue since it opened, nearly thirty-four years ago. He said the house had become to him a second home. To him it was the scene of many memorable occasions, social gatherings, notifications, receptions and addresses, including the address of the Rev. Dr. Burchard, when he made his famous remark which caused Blaine's defeat. The resources and attentions were always fully at his service, for

which he gave his complete and hearty appreciation. We, therefore, had ample opportunities of knowing him well. His life here endeared him to us all, and even the lowest servant had a warm regard for him which was sincere and personal.

“Mr. Blaine has been called magnetic. I never quite liked the word for him. I would rather say that he had a simple, genial, cordial way that made you feel entirely at home, and inspired and stimulated like ways in return and thus equally pleasing relations were permanently established. It is this striking and lovable personality that is uppermost in my mind at this hour. But I do not forget his great public career. I had the pleasure of meeting him on important affairs at his lovely home at Bar Harbor, and more than once was requested to meet him in Washington. After one such interview I asked a most eminent jurist who was present, and who years before had been called in consultation by Mr. Lincoln, what he thought of Mr. Blaine. His reply was: ‘He is the most thoroughly American of any man I have ever met.’ That was true.

“It is not for me to comment upon what the verdict of history may be upon the public services of Mr. Blaine, but it is natural, at this hour, to think and speak of that most attractive personality

and private life, which in its departure, leaves such vast multitudes of devoted friends who will ever hold him in fond memory. Mr. Blaine was last registered as a guest here on October 17 of last year. That day he came in from Ophir Farm, where he had been the guest of Whitelaw Reid. When he came here he did not always occupy the same apartments, but he always got the best in the house. During his last visit he avoided publicity by taking his meals in his rooms, but at every previous visit he always, on one occasion or more, visited the public dining-room. He knew all the employees so well that it seemed to him, he said, that he was at home. On Christmas he always remembered them liberally, and many \$5 and \$10 gold pieces were distributed among the waiters, hallboys and chambermaids by Mr. Blaine. Money, however, did not buy the deep friendship that they entertained for the ex-Secretary."

FRIENDS OF HIS BOYHOOD TESTIFY.

The old residents of Mr. Blaine's early home delight to recall the great man as a boy. One of these, in speaking of him a short time since, said: "He was a very smart, very lively, and yet no one

ever heard any complaint against him on any score whatever. He had all the natural exuberance of a healthy boy—and what a healthy boy he was! I can't recall in this entire city a boy physically as handsome and vivacious as Jim Blaine. People talk about the human race improving, generation by generation, but if Jim was a fair specimen of his day and age I'd like to see the leaves of the almanac turned back forty or fifty years. His eye was large, so was its pupil—it seemed almost luminous sometimes; his complexion was as fair and clear as a girl's, and there was a splendid big crimson blotch on each cheek that no weariness, exertion or cold could remove. And his strength—why, he was a young bullock; his chest was almost as round as a barrel."

Another man, who was a playmate of Mr. Blaine in his early boyhood, now a Western Pennsylvania merchant, speaking of Blaine's remembrance of his early friends, tells this story: "Many years after our early boyhood days I occasionally saw in print some remark of Congressman Blaine, of Maine, that had so much the ring of my old schoolmate that I thought there must be some relationship. I knew Blaine was smart enough to be a

Congressman, but you know a boy will never be more than a boy to one who has not seen him in years. One day, however, I read a speech containing some of my old schoolmate's pet expressions. Then I sat down and wrote a letter telling who I was and asking if he was really my old companion.

"Only a few days afterward I received a long letter from Mr. Blaine written from the Senate Chamber, expressing the greatest satisfaction at hearing from me and recalling acquaintances and happenings of thirty years ago. A year or two later he came to Ohio to speak and I, being near Massillon, went over there to hear him. I got there late. Jim was already on the platform, with a crowd of prominent men around him, waiting for the time to begin. The sight of him made me forget my age for a moment and his too. I was a boy again, and, stretching my arms over the crowd I tapped him on the head with my cane.

"He looked around and caught my eye. He hadn't seen me in over thirty years, mind you, when we were both beardless boys, but it wasn't half a minute before he had broken loose from the political big bugs who were talking to him, elbowed his way through the crowd and had both my hands

in his. His hand had a powerful grip, too. We exchanged notes for a few minutes, when the committee called him to come to the front. 'Confound it!' says he, 'it's always the way; now I must be Mr. Blaine again, I suppose.' "

Many years, nearly two score of them, after Mr. Blaine's father had removed from West Brownsville to Washington, Mr. Blaine returned to the place of his birth. He had left it when a boy of twelve. He returned gray haired and full of honors, accompanied by his sons Emmons and James, and Stephen B. Elkins. The party passed the day in going about the little town and made a long stay in the quiet, quaint cemetery in which lie Mr. Blaine's parents.

While Mr. Blaine's visit to his birth-place was the most dramatic event of the day, it was preceded and followed by others of almost equal interest. He and Mr. Elkins took a long walk before breakfast down the Eastern river bank, and after breakfast a long line of people filed into the hotel to shake hands. Among them was an old man with tangled white beard, reaching nearly to his waist. He grasped Mr. Blaine's hand, saying: "Don't you know me?" Mr. Blaine gazed straight into his eyes for nearly a minute.

“Don’t you remember John Harb—” the old man began, when Mr. Blaine exclaimed, “John Harbison—of course, I remember you and your partner John Paul. I remember, too, how good the grapes were in your back-yard, and how I used to climb the fence to get them.”

A wrinkled old Irishman with weazened face rushed up, exclaiming: “Me God! Misther Blaine, but it’s moighty glad I am to see you.”

“How are you, Johnny Malone,” was the quick reply. Johnny was a farm hand who worked over the whole region when Blaine was a boy. Then an aged and very black negress pressed up and seized Mr. Blaine’s hand in both hers. The tears poured over her cheeks and she sobbed violently.

“Why, Aunt Hetty!” Mr. Blaine exclaimed and calmed her agitation. Henrietta Harbison worked in Neil Gillespie’s family when a little wench and she cooked the dinner that President-elect Harrison ate when journeying to take his inauguration. Mr. Blaine slipped a yellow coin into the old woman’s hand as she turned to go, exclaiming: “God, bless, may you have health and happiness in this world and a home in Heaven hereafter.”

SEEN BY ENGLISH EYES.

In the *London World* of July 13th, 1881, Mr. Blaine is described by an English journalist. The article is one of a series on "Celebrities at Home." It describes the home Mr. Blaine then occupied, and gives the features of an interview with him there, he then being Secretary of State. The article, omitting certain portions merely biographical, is here given:

"In one of a group of four tall houses, built of brown stone and red brick, situated in Fifteenth street, Washington, and bearing the number 821, dwells the American Secretary of State. With the assurance of meeting with the kindest welcome from a statesman universally known for his hospitality and his amiability, and of being entertained with his charming conversation for a few minutes, if the pressing morning duties of the Premier will at all permit it, we stroll along the quiet street, and, arriving at the neat doorstep, pull the bell at Mr. Blaine's. Our cards are taken by a young negress, who, in English undefiled by the slave's jargon of the Southern plantation, makes the usual cautious remark that she does not know if Mr. Blaine is at home. Four large rooms

constitute the drawing-room suite, the ground floor, at Mr. Blaine's. A bow-window on the street adds to the size of the rooms, and affords further scope for the loving ornamentation with which each of these apartments is endowed. There are many valuable objects here; much rare china on the walls and in cabinets; fine pictures; some good statuary; but the greatest charm of the place is its home-like spirit, which enters the heart of the visitor, and tells him that the Premier and his family specially inhabit these rooms, and keep no corner of their house sacred to the cold perfunctory ceremony of merely receiving visitors.

“Mr. Secretary Blaine's house is incontestably the most popular in Washington. On Wednesday afternoons—the days in Washington when, during the session of Congress, the wives of Cabinet Ministers and those of foreign Ambassadors receive—there is no house in the American capital so crowded. Whatever the weather, however thin the attendance in other drawing-rooms, there is always a throng at Mr. Blaine's. Nor is this due to the importance of his present position as Secretary of State. It was the same when he was in Congress, whether as a member or Speaker of the House. It was the same when he was in the Sen-

ate; it would be the same if Mr. Blaine were not in politics.

“People go there because they like Mr. Blaine and all his family, which consists of his intellectual and ladylike wife—a kinswoman of brilliant reputation in American letters, who uses the *nom de plume* of ‘Gail Hamilton;’ and six fine and promising children. Never since the days of the silver-voiced Henry Clay, of Kentucky, has there been a man in the United States whose personal magnetism has been acknowledged to be so potent as that of Mr. Blaine. The power which Mr. Blaine exercises over men, the unfailing success he enjoys in winning their affection has been variously attributed to his epigrammatic speech, his delightful jocularly, to his earnest face and his splendid physique. But there is a more simple explanation.

“Mr. Blaine’s universal popularity is directly derived from the sweet and unaffected nature of the man, and from the unchanging goodness of his big warm heart. To be a great statesman, and yet a kind, generous and sympathizing friend to uncountable scores of little people whose acquaintance he has made during the last twenty or thirty years of his life; to maintain a demeanor of perfect dignity at all times, and yet to know how to unbend to

each visitor in just the degree necessary to make the latter feel that of all 'good fellows' in the world, 'Blaine of Maine' is the best, demands intellectual talents and moral qualities of the highest order. These talents and these qualities are well known to be the attributes of Mr. Blaine; and they are not denied him even by those whose interests in the political arena are arrayed against his own.

"In the examination of the drawing-rooms at Mr. Blaine's we find, among other valuable possessions, one very interesting picture—a large canvas of Sir Peter Lely, representing Charles II. and his Court. It is signed, with the date 1658. It was painted by Sir Peter for Lord Baltimore, and was bought by Mr. Blaine for a sum of comparative unimportance at the sale of the Calvert estate, Riverdale, Maryland, a few years ago. There is not an art-gallery in Europe, public or private, which would not be enriched by this large historical picture, full of portraits, and executed in Lely's most delicate and yet most animated style.

"Near at hand, on a rich pedestal, stands a fine life-size bust of Mr. Blaine, as good a likeness of the statesman as could perhaps be obtained in this form of a man, the charm of whose features lies principally in their mobility and ever-changing

play. Portraits of men of letters abound here. Dickens, Thackeray, Disraeli, Washington Irving, Hawthorne, and many others gaze down from the walls, principally in the last of the suite of drawing-rooms—the one in which the Premier sits of a morning before going to the Department of State, examining such letters as imperatively demand his attention at home. Routine correspondence is carried on by secretaries in a vast room at the top of the house, and is an enormous task.

“Listen! A deep, mellow voice is warmly crying out: ‘Now, is there anything more annoying than to be kept waiting?’ To which we reply, with truth: ‘It is not annoying, with the prospect in view of seeing you.’ Blaine of Maine acknowledges the compliment by a hearty grasp from both his extended hands. It is impossible to exaggerate the charm of his manner, because with his own great brilliancy he has a sort of delightful and modest deference to the opinion of his listener, as though to say: ‘Am I right? Does your judgment approve of this?’ which, it is needless to say, is most ‘taking’ with every auditor. And there is nothing false here. It is the natural idiosyncrasy of a frank and impulsive man, with a very warm heart, kindly instincts and generous nature. In

stature Mr. Blaine is above the medium height, and is of strong and compactly-built frame. His head is large, his hair gray and abundant; his face is engaging in expression, large in feature, and lighted by a pair of brilliant, dark-brown eyes. His movements are alert and vigorous, save when he is in the inquistorial tortures of an inherited enemy—the gout. ‘I suffer vicariously from the gout,’ he explains, with a rueful grimace. ‘I never earned the gout. I never drank a glass of spirits in my life. Yet I must endure the agonies of the gout, because my jolly old British ancestors denied themselves nothing.’ These ancestors were of that excellent mingling known as the Scotch-Irish.”

This picture, added to that describing his new house in Washington and his old home in Augusta, will show the surroundings amid which Mr. Blaine dwells.

The following is the finest analysis of the dead statesman we have seen. It is given by a man of national reputation whose acquaintance with Mr. Blaine was continuous and intimate for probably as long a period as any man in the United States has enjoyed.

Of Mr. Blaine, he said: “I have known Mr.

Blaine for thirty-eight years. In all these years the most marked of his characteristics was his virility. He was an unduly grown man. He was constantly reproducing himself. Mentally and physically he was a forced man, and his years should have been eighty instead of but sixty-two. His head was extremely narrow over the eyes and his brain seemed to be hung back of his ears. This gave him a curious power for quick judgment from facts real, or apparent, and forced him to quick conclusions on every question.

“The ease with which he met questions is due to this fact. Persons not well acquainted with him looked upon his quick judgment as surface capacity. He was born with a woman’s power of quick judgment, which his experience increased and made almost infallible. In the last twenty years of his life he probably did not read one book entirely through. He had a habit of securing the meat of a book with what seemed hurried glances, but he was so familiar with all topics that he could quickly pick the new from the old, which made study easy to him. He was born a business man, but his virility and vigor, coupled with the faculty of speech, made the excitement and flavor of politics more acceptable than slow, plodding business.

“He was a news-gatherer, a keen observer, and something of a gossip. These combined to make him the rarest of companions. His stock of anecdotes and experiences illustrated his conversation, of which his listeners never tired.

“On the stump he was unequalled. His ideas were arrayed in picturesque language, which coupled with his logic and force of statement, carried conviction. On the stump Mr. Blaine made votes, a thing few orators do, and votes from the other side. As a writer he has stood the test both in a literary and historic sense. In literary work he never used a stenographer, but sat bolt upright in a straight-backed chair at a small table, writing rapidly in one of the best hands ever written by a public man. He was untiring, and all his work showed thought.

“While Mr. Blaine was thought by some to be spectacular and was accused of posing, the reverse is true. He never tried for effects and was impervious to public opinion when he knew that public opinion was partisan or biased. His aim in life was to know the American Government, and in this he succeeded better, with perhaps, the exception of General Butler, than any man of his time. There was nothing dramatic in Mr. Blaine’s nature,

there was in the effect of his public acts at times, but never in his nature. Had he been elevated to the Presidency in 1884 he would have seriously disappointed the calamity shriekers who poisoned the air with their howls against him. His pride would have given him the best Cabinet possible, and he would have said 'I think you are best fitted for this position and you for that,' and from the moment of his inauguration his administration would have been conducted with vigor, firmness and progress, and an eye to the good of the whole people.

"Mr. Blaine's life, character, surroundings, and habits were intensely American. He considered the United States a government the result of all the ages preceding, and his hope was to see the whole Continent governed under the same principles as the United States. There was no evidence of smallness or meanness in his character. His political opponents—and he always preferred a Democrat to an independent—were his friends. He believed there was room in this country for two parties, and they, being based on ideas of perpetual liberty, it was immaterial, in the sense of the country's security, which party prevailed. He was a Whig and a Republican by choice.

“His religion was as broad as his political principles. In faith he was a Unitarian, and while he had unbounded respect for other creeds, he lived and died a Unitarian. He was almost puritanical in his faith and walked each day with the belief of certain reward or punishment after death. He was affectionate to all and was an especial favorite with children. When he rode through the streets of Augusta the little children came running to the fences and gates with ‘Hello, Mr. Blaine,’ and even the dogs of the little city all seemed to know him and would come out and wag their tails.

“At the best period of his life, which was about 1876, Mr. Blaine was close to six feet in height and weighed 190 pounds. He had large feet, large hands, brown hair, blue-gray eyes, a very large nose, thick at the end with open nostrils, a not too large mouth, dropping at one corner, a face long but square, a narrow head with what might be called a high dome. He wore a full beard and moustache. He was very quick in talking and in his bodily movements. His manner was quick and sharp and his voice was penetrating, with a very peculiar cadence and easily heard by large audiences. After 1876 his voice became rather thick,

but until his last illness it remained as distinct as a bell.

“He always dressed in black, wearing a Prince Albert coat and for many years a high silk hat. He seldom, if ever, wore any jewelry. He may have had a watch, but I never noticed it. His personal expenses were nothing a day. He was very abstemious in drinking, eating and sleeping. He was a mass of nervous energy, and politics was but an outlet and served to preserve his health.

“The highest earthly honors could not have compensated for the death of his children and friends. Seldom is it that any statesman of any country in the decline of his life has met so hard a fate in the matter of grief as Mr. Blaine met. The sympathy of the whole nation went to him during his afflictions of the last three years, but throughout all he bore it with the patience and dignity of a good citizen and God-fearing man. There is a difference between character and reputation, and to the few who knew Mr. Blaine in truth the estimations made of the man by his political opponents reach the dignity of burlesque, and intensify the love and affection of those who knew him.

“In his relations with public men he was often

the subject of criticism and personal abuse which was as undeserved as it was ungenerous. In his long career no individual act of meanness can be charged against him. He was not so unique or as picturesque as Butler, but he was infinitely more useful. He possessed the least vanity of any public man in the United States. Flattery was useless as an approach to his favor, and when in conversation he would pump you dry, getting the information he desired and filtering it away in the storehouses of his brain and keeping it for a wet day for use. His natural ability was developed, educated and completed by his contact with men. Human life and nature was a book which he easily read. He profited by experiences. He was the most unsuspecting of men, and while you apparently received his confidence, he never told you half he knew or felt. Reticent when necessary, he was talkative to an extreme when in the society of pleasant companions, and no one else in a company desired anybody to speak except Mr. Blaine; not because it was Blaine, but on account of the manner of the man and the strength of his talk.

“Brilliant is a commonplace word when applied to his marvelous faculty of entertaining. He was especially fond of young men; he was courteous

to women; he was differential to old men. He was essentially a kind-hearted and affectionate man. He was a unity in which none of the parts were dwarfed. He was great in all he did, in the manner of it, doing of it, and its results.

